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BOTSWANA

LIBYA PLEDGES AID FOR NATION IN WAKE OF RSA ATTACK

Gaborone THE GUARDIAN in English 23 May 86 p 2

[Article by Douglas Tsiako]

[Text]

IN THE aftermath of the air and ground attack by South African troops on Mogoditshane, Botswana has received a pledge of "any type of support in its struggle against South African terrorism", a leader of a special delegation from Libyan leader Colonel Muamar Gaddafi told journalists at a press conference Tuesday.

"Our mission here is related to the last June 14 raid. But you could say it is also related to yesterday's raid because we left Libya after hearing about it. We also brought a special message from Colonel Gaddafi about the situation in the aftermath of the American air raid on Tripoli and Benghazi", said Mr Mohamed Rajap.

Mr Rajap said they told the Vice-President Mr Peter Mmusi they

viewed the United States, South Africa and Israel as enemies of small countries like Libya and Botswana.

"Our enemy is one. Our enemy is the United States which supports the Zionist occupation of Palestine, the racist South African regime and its illegal occupation of Namibia and as well as traitor of Angola Jonas Savimbi. This is all evidence of American enmity".

He said despite loss of life and damage to property caused by the American air raid Libya was still a fortress of freedom and liberation. Thirty-seven people were killed and 100 injured in the three-day attack from April 15 to 16. Mr Rajap described these casualties as "a small price for freedom".

Colonel Gaddafi's residence, his private

tent and a centre for disabled people were also bombed in the raid.

Describing American President Ronald Reagan as a crazy killer, the Libyan emissary said no amount of force from a superpower would stop his country from supporting genuine liberation movements the world over.

Mr Rajap was apt to explain that in the American context liberation and terrorism were synonymous. That is why, he said, President Reagan considered Colonel Gaddafi an arch-enemy.

He said recent reports in the international press had absolved Libya of charges that it was responsible for terrorist attacks in Western capitals.

Asked about the controversial "Line of

Death" which is at the centre of the dispute between Libya and the United States, Mr Rajap said his country had felt threatened when the US amassed a fleet of warships and aircraft carriers near the Libyan shore.

The line runs from Tripoli in the west to Benghazi in the east. It is about 200 nautical miles from the shore at the longest. Libya considers the area its territorial waters.

Mr Rajap would not say whether the pledge to Botswana included military assistance. But he emphasised: Any type of support, economic and otherwise. Botswana only needs to ask".

The press conference was held at the Libyan embassy soon after the four-man delegation had met the Vice-President. They described the talks as cordial and pleasant.

/9317

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11 July 1986

BOTSWANA

MASIRE DISCUSSES AGRICULTURAL PLANNING

Gaborone DAILY NEWS in English 26 May 86 pp 1, 2

[Text]

MABULE: The President Dr Quett Masire has said that Botswana is a semi-arid country which is in pursuit of agricultural produce for Subsistence marketing.

Addressing a kgotla meeting here last Wednesday, Dr Masire said the current drought has further exposed how vulnerable our economic system is.

The Government, he said has adopted a national food strategy and has also looked into land planning and usage.

Agricultural development must therefore take place in the context of planning because of pressure on land resources.

Dr Masire said government can only assist the people to work the land to ensure that it sustains future developments.

He warned that it was evident that the desert was mushrooming in areas in the east as a result of the drought, over-stocking and over-grazing.

Dr Masire said surrounding villages are also under extreme pressure from animals looking for fodder and the people felling trees for fuel.

"It is not worthy, however, that in the past couple of years, Botswana has taken heed of the advice against causing veld fires," said the President.

The President further warned that when desertification occurs Botswana will have no hope of pursuing future agricultural development. He said it was not too late to start fighting it by resolving to conserve our land resources to trees and range lands.

Dr Masire added that it is the people inhabiting any area who must do the work, and plan future land utilisation, and safeguard resources for their benefit and future generation.

He called all people to strengthen their organisational skills and support bodies like VDC and use them as vehicles of consultation.

He cautioned that Botswana must know all the guidelines, these bodies have provided, so that they do not unwittingly continue to plunder resources.

Dr Masire summed up his message by appealing for

good common sense to prevail against exploiting the land for short term gain without thinking about the failure in pursuing agricultural development.

"We must make sure that we utilise the land resources in such a way that it will sustain production now and in the foreseeable future," he advised.

Dr Masire commended the people of Mabule for constructing a dam which he said was attractively filled up with water. He also thanked them for other development projects in the village.

He pointed out that government decided to take development to the rural areas as far back as 1972 when it introduced accelerated rural development.

Development, he said, was not a favour but a right which government had to provide to all districts without discrimination.

Dr Masire said rural roads should be improved to enhance easy accessibility

and facilitate other developments.

The President briefed the audience about the attack on Mogoditshane last Monday by the South African army.

Responding to questions, Dr Masire said funds were available from NDB for the purchasing of tractors.

He said government was in the process of building secondary schools throughout the country and that one will be built at Mabule.

Dr Masire said one reason for delaying the issuing of passport was that some people supply false information in their application forms.

Earlier the community development officer for the village Mrs Nurse Oaitse commended the government for continuing to provide development in the village.

The President is accompanied by the first lady Mrs Gladys Masire and the MP for the area Assistant Minister of Local Government and Lands, Mr Tshipinare.

/9317

CSO: 3400/013

BOTSWANA

RESIDENTS URGED TO PLANT TREES TO COUNTER ENCROACHING DESERT

Gaborone DAILY NEWS in English 6 May 86 p 1

[Article by Jowitt Mbongwe]

[Text]

TSHIDILAMOLOMO:
Residents of Tshidilamolomo have been called upon to plant trees to counter the encroaching desert caused by drought, overstocking and over-grazing.

The call was made by the President Dr Quett Masire when he addressed a kgotla meeting here last week.

He promised to ask the forestry department to visit the area to share ideas on the planting of trees to fight soil erosion as well as ensure that the area sustains future development.

Dr Masire warned that the desertification cannot be reversed therefore it should be prevented by lessening the vulnerability of the eco-system.

He reminded his audience that most of its people depend on rable agriculture and livestock farming.

President Masire told the meeting that the President of Cape Verde, who visited Botswana earlier this year, had told him that his country

embarked on a vigorous tree planting campaign and received better rains as a result. He said Batswana should also do the same.

He pointed out that he was aware of the problem of water reticulation within the whole village. He said water works will be expanded in 1988.

The President appealed to farmers to form agriculture management associations to that they could water their livestock at one of the four boreholes provided for this purpose in the district.

Dr Masire disclosed that a clinic and a primary school will be built in the village before the end of this financial year.

Dr Masire said it was government policy to build schools near neighbourhoods and said a secondary school will be built near the village in the future.

He said the issues of a border post required us to talk with South Africa as it was a joint venture.

Dr Masire further urged the residents to build a dam.

MOZAMBIQUE

CHISSANO OPENS SADCC COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETING

MB122320 Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Mozambique's Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano said today that the 9-member Southern African Development Coordination Conference, SADCC, has demonstrated since it was formed the possibilities of regional cooperation. Mr Chissano was speaking in Maputo at the opening of a 2-day meeting of SADCC's Council of Ministers. Highlighting in general terms the guiding principles of SADCC, he said the organization was characterised by decentralization, pragmatism, and the objectivity and dynamism of its structures. He added that without turning SADCC into a supernational body, the region was creating greater unity around the question of common economic interests.

Mr Chissano called on the SADCC member states--Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe--to make the organization even stronger in order to reduce the region's dependence on South Africa. Mr Chissano said the recent raids against Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe by South African forces and South Africa's boycotts against Lesotho and Mozambique were maneuvers by Pretoria due to its growing isolation. He said Pretoria's systematic disruption of SADCC's development projects, roads, and railways was all part of South Africa's policy of aggression in the region.

The SADCC's council of ministers is being chaired by Botswana's Vice President and Finance Minister Peter Mmusi. Mr Mmusi told the meeting that SADCC's international reputation as an efficient instrument for regional economic transformation is growing. He reminded participants of the famous statement by the jailed ANC Nelson Mandela when he said: There is no easy walk to freedom. Likewise, he said SADCC member-states should look at the problems today and accept the challenge to find solutions. He said the best people in each of the states should be seconded to work with SADCC. Today's agenda of the Council of Ministers includes preparations for this year's summit, the results of the last annual consulative conference, and preparations for the next.

/8918

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MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

MOLDAVIAN DELEGATION--Maputo, 7 Jun--A delegation of CPSU party workers headed by P.P. Petrik, secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, has arrived in the Mozambican capital under the plan for party ties between the CPSU and the Mozambique Liberation Front party. [TASS report: "Delegation's Arrival"] [Text] [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jun.86 First Edition p 4 PM] /8918

CSO: 3400/047

NIGERIA

ECONOMIC CRISIS FORCES FRG BUSINESS TO CONSIDER WITHDRAWAL

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 21 Apr 86 p 14

[Article by Carola Kaps: "Nigeria: Dry Stretch for German Firms. Catastrophic of Foreign Currency/A Lot of Construction Continues as Before"] Shortage

[Text] Lagos, in April--During the ten fat oil years from 1973 to 1983, Nigeria was a paradise of money-making for business people all over the world. Everything seemed doable, there were no limitations that could not be overcome by money. Rapid industrialization of the country, for the realization of which gigantic projects were being undertaken, appeared to be within easy reach.

The rapid decline of oil prices has put an end to all that. The oil revenues of 100 billion dollars have dwindled away, trickled into the channels of corruption in part, without the "Giant of Black Africa" having much to show for except a well-developed transportation network and operative ports. Instead, a foreign debt of 20 billion dollars weighs heavily upon the nation. Agriculture, flourishing at one time, recovers but arduously from the inexcusable neglect suffered during the past ten years, which not only caused the end of food self-sufficiency but also the dramatic reduction of agricultural exports.

Industry on Weak Footing

From an industrial aspect as well Nigeria, with a contribution by the industry of only 5 percent to the gross national product, continues to stand on extremely weak footing. The development of a national steel industry, which Nigeria wanted to make the basis for industrialization, is still in its infancy despite huge investment sums; as is the development of a petrochemical industry. High-flying plans for a gas liquefaction facility have been shelved; fertilizer production, which was supposed to meet domestic demand no later than the early 1980's, is not likely to operate fully before the end of 1987. Refinery capacities are still inadequate; negotiations are ongoing with French and German companies on the construction of the necessary fourth refinery. The telecommunications network leaves much to be desired. The consumer goods industry is almost completely dependent upon imported raw or semifinished products and therefore especially susceptible to the lack of foreign currency which since two years mandates strict import restrictions.

The oil wealth has neither resulted in a diversification of the economy nor in an improved income situation and income distribution, is the sober assessment in a World Bank statement. On the contrary, the majority of the population is worse off today than in 1976 because per-capita income has dropped to 750 dollars a year and is only slightly above the absolute poverty level of 696 dollars which the World Bank computed in 1982 for urban population. Among adolescents--according to a foreign expert--hopelessness, uncertainty about the future is great. One is increasingly incapable of identifying with one's own country and her problems. Chances are slim of finding a job, since year after year between 1.2 and 1.8 million young adults throng into a labor market that during the past three years has already lost over a million industrial jobs.

It is true that agriculture holds a great potential, but it will take years to fully develop this, to restore export capability and thus to sever the nearly complete dependency upon oil. The hunger and thirst period, through which Nigeria must suffer because of the oil price collapse, will therefore extend over a long time in the opinion of the experts, and place a great strain on the social network of the country.

For foreign companies represented in large numbers in Nigeria the question presents itself in light of this background whether their continued interests will still be worthwhile or whether uncertainty and the financial calamity might make a retreat from Nigeria more advisable.

After Great Britain, the FRG is in second place with her direct investments. Of the more than 150 German firms represented in Nigeria, the majority is in favor of persevering, of weathering the dry stretch and to keep their foot in the door leading into the large, thoroughly interesting Nigerian market with its more than 100 million people. For some of them--such as VW and Mercedes--the investments are much too large to just pack up and leave the country. "One shall continue to reduce the risk," avoid major projects and try to "pass the winter on the back burner" is the general consensus; but the argument that the West should have a long-term political and economic interest in Nigeria and also acknowledge that Nigeria on her own initiative had made a considerable effort to correct structural imbalances, keeps emerging in discussions with German businessmen. Likewise the observation that in good times Nigeria had definitely demonstrated a high payment morale and even today were honoring the good will of those who, like for example the construction firm Bilfinger-Berger, like Dornier and BBC, had proven to be reliable partners in good as well as bad times. Regardless of the confidence in a long-range development potential of the Nigerian market--expressed with "a stiff upper lip"--most of the German companies are confronted by genuine difficulties at this time. A few medium-sized businesses, which lack a capital hedge, are even fighting for survival due to high outstanding debts. Nigeria's short-term business debts, which in the meantime amount to 7 to 8 billion dollars and which cannot be paid because of a lack of foreign currency, are a heavy burden not only for Nigeria herself but also for many creditors. In view of the financial distress--says one German company representative--the chaff will be winnowed from the grain among the foreign firms established in Nigeria.

On the German side the sorting process has already begun; for as late as three years ago more than 200 German companies were present in Lagos. With the suspension of the Hermes-guarantees and the official credit insurance for the Nigeria trade--the claims for Hermes are said to be as high as 700 million dollars--the financial difficulties and the business risk have become too great for many.

For the remaining ones, who according to Nigerian investment laws are operating with Nigerian interests of 40 or 60 percent, the lack of import licenses presents the greatest problem at this time. The assembly plants of VW and Mercedes, of Fichtel & Sachs and others, for example, have been idle since January since no import licenses for the necessary parts have been granted since the fall of last year. VW continues to pay their 2000 workers in the hope of resuming production soon. At present, Fichtel & Sachs are managing to stay afloat with rebuilding and overhauling old clutches. In search of orders which would at least cover the overhead, even retail firms develop a strictly Nigerian "leg to stand on"; large firms, which otherwise hand over turnkey facilities, now take on asphaltting of roads or the erection and outfitting of school labs.

Inventiveness Demanded

Entrepreneurial Inventiveness is demanded to the fullest extent since due to Nigeria's catastrophic foreign exchange shortage it is by no means certain if and when import licenses will be granted and whether there is sufficient exchange in the central bank to completely exploit the import licenses. In view of the fact that without the binding assurance of the central bank no foreign bank is prepared any longer to confirm the commercial letter of credit, some firms--as was the case last year--will not be able to import in spite of import licenses. The fact that since about two years most companies are operating with a capacity utilization of barely more than 15 to 20 percent demonstrates the magnitude of the calamity. In addition, since the Babangida government, which has an internally oriented development strategy, wants to break with excessive dependency upon imports and utilize their own resource basis and technical capabilities, import licenses are to be granted selectively only to those industries which are important to the Nigerian development process.

The foreign automobile manufacturers who maintain seven assembly plants, two for commercial vehicles and five for passenger cars, are presently feeling that they are at a particular disadvantage, indeed even penalized. Disappointed by the fact that even though the automotive firms have been present for many years there still has not been created a national market of subcontractors and the firms continue to import automotive parts from abroad, the industrial minister has made the automotive industry the scapegoat so to speak for the industrial development that did not take place. Not only is the former being accused of inflating prices with overcharged import components, but also of practicing a model policy equally designed to drive up prices and profits.

Contradictory Signals

Whoever strives for industrial development, must also allow industry to charge prices that cover their cost and establish a framework of regulatory policies which supports, for example, the development of a subcontractor industry or the utilization of domestic resources, says the automotive industry, and rightly so. Conflicting signals, import restrictions on the one hand and price controls on the other, are only creating a lot of unrest detrimental to industrial development, however. To be sure, those in government, who make decisions on price control, have little interest in a decontrol of prices. For they receive from the state cheap car credits in amounts approximately corresponding to the car price stipulated by the state. Since those in charge buy passenger cars and not commercial vehicles, the truck industry fares much better. They are at liberty to fully pass onto the final price the different surcharges, the effects of the exchange rate devaluation or, more recently, also the import duty of 30 percent. Mercedes is therefore operating with good profits in Nigeria, whereas VW--under the two-fold burden of inadequate capacity utilization and controlled prices--has little to cheer about.

Not only among German investors, but also among the other foreign ones there are several today who, if they had to make the decision again, would not invest in Nigeria for a second time. But for most of them the argument that Nigeria is simply too large to stand still justified their continued commitment; even today in spite of a financial crisis much money is being invested, large projects are underway and new ones are being started. And indeed, no other Black African nation has so much ongoing construction as is the case in Nigeria today, it appears more active and busier than all the other West African neighbors. Nevertheless, most German firms believe that without active government support, in other words, without Hermes guarantees and sponsorships, they soon will not be able to manage any longer. Other alternatives to overcome the financial bottleneck are practically non-existent, because even the oil exchange business, under consideration by many firms as a way out, has its strict limitations. There are already--according to German industrial circles--first indications that the united front presented by official credit insurance institutions toward Nigeria is starting to waver. There is whispered talk about French firms who, backed by the state credit insurance Cofas, are supposed to have made new business deals.

PHOTO CAPTION

In August 1985, Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida became national president of Nigeria following an uprising organized by him. It was but one month later that the 44-year-old former army chief declared a state of economic emergency.

13011/9435
CSO: 3420/35

NIGERIA

FINANCE MINISTER ANNOUNCES QUARTERLY EARNINGS

Kano THE TRIUMPH in English 27 May 86 pp 1, 2

[Text]

THE federal government realised a total revenue of N3.291 billion as at the first quarter of this year.

The Minister of Finance, Dr. Chu S.P. Okongwu, revealed this while briefing newsmen in Lagos yesterday on the activities and achievements of his ministry.

According to the minister, government had expended N2.611 billion from the revenue whereas it was projected to spend

N2.770 billion for the first quarter of this year

He said that the surplus of N680 million recorded in the first quarter was higher than the overall surplus of N27.9 million recorded for the corresponding period last year.

The minister, however, said the surplus recorded did not signify a healthy

economic situation because the government had incurred a debt of N1.030 million through "ways and means".

Dr. Okongwu, however, assured the nation that government still gave preference in the allocation of

revenue to areas of its priority such as agriculture, rural development, health, education and some on-going industrial projects.

For the development of mineral producing areas and amelioration of ecological problems, the minister said N2.83 billion was disbursed from the federation account between January and March this year to three tiers of the government.

/12828

CSO: 3400/041

NIGERIA

SECURITY MEASURES INTENSIFIED AT JOS AIRPORT

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN In English 28 May 86 p 13

[Article by Mike Reis]

[Text]

MORE security measures are being taken at the Jos Airport to guarantee safety of passengers travelling by air from the airport.

The Nigerian Airport's Authority Public Relations Officer, Mr. Felix Inah, told the *New Nigerian* that there was a need to tighten security at the airport in view of recent armed robbery raid at some airports in the country.

He said henceforth passengers movement would be restricted to the arrival and departure halls while those travelling must submit themselves for security checks before boarding a plane.

He said private vehicles would no longer be allowed in prohibited areas of the airport and warned people in the habit of driving their private cars to the VIP lounge to desist from such acts.

Mr. Inah said security men have been posted to strategic locations at the airport to keep vigil and flush out undesirable elements.

He appealed to the airport users to assist the authority by reporting promptly any suspicious move around the airport.

/12828
CSO: 3400/041

NIGERIA

FORMER REPRESENTATIVE JUNAIDU MOHAMMED ARRESTED

Kano THE TRIUMPH in English 28 May 86 p 12

[Text]

A FORMER member of the defunct Federal House of Representatives, Dr. Junaidu Mohammed, has been arrested.

The former lawmaker was taken away from his house located at Lamido Crescent in Kano last Monday night by plainclothes security men.

When our reporters called at the house of Dr. Junaidu yesterday, the security agents had brought him back to the house to pick some of his personal effects.

Family sources told *The Triumph* that Dr. Junaidu was being driven to Lagos when the vehicle in which they were travelling developed some problems in Zaria and had to come back to Kano.

The outspoken politician was later driven off in a Nissan Patrol car number KN 6853 KP yesterday for Lagos in the presence of our reporter.

It is not yet clear what prompted the arrest of Dr. Junaid but it will be recalled that he had published a virulent attack of the present military government barely fifty days after its coming to power.

Political observers also believe that his recent interview on a BBC programme, "Network Africa" may have annoyed the government.

/12828

CSO: 3400/052

11 July 1986

NIGERIA

CENSUS AS POLITICAL WEAPON, SOLUTIONS PROBED

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 28 May 86 p 7

[Article by Yahaya Sanda]

[Text]

CENSUS in Nigeria is one of the contentious national issues since the adoption of a Federal system of government, there has never been a generally acceptable census figure because there is undue emphasis on the political aspects of the census.

CENSUS AS A POLITICAL WEAPON

After the amalgamation of 1914, the North which was educationally backward feared South's domination in the private and public service sectors of the country, it therefore sought political power at the centre as a leverage.

Hence at the Ibadan Constitutional Conference in 1949, the then Northern Region demanded for a north-south parity of representation in Nigeria's Central Legislature. This means that the Northern Region would have a degree of representation in the House of Representatives equal to that of the other two regions, (Western and Eastern) put together.

The Northern Region threatened to secede if its demand was not met. The same demand was made in the 1951 constitutional conference. The 1953 census results sustained

the pressure for parity because they gave a demographic base for the compromise political arrangement of 1951. As far as the political leaders in the North were concerned, this was the best political arrangement while their counterparts in the South criticised this arrangement as unfair.

The Northern Region, by virtue of her population and size, had become a dominant partner. This is contrary to the principle of Federalism and had therefore constituted a threat to the security and stability of the Country.

1962-63 CENSUS

Nigeria had attained her independence in 1960. The affairs of the country were now run by the three Regions. Every Region had its own dominant political party which struggled with other two Regional parties to control the political power at the centre.

The census figures would therefore determine the number of Parliamentary seats each region would have in the Federal House of Representatives. Majority parliamentary seats would generate guarantee effective and exclusive control of Federal power.

According to AFRICA No. 5 page 40:

"The outcome of the 1962-63 census proved a disaster. It split the country and caused an upheaval. Press (*Daily Express*) disclosures put the population of the North far below that of the South: 11 million as against 18 million. The attempt by the new Minister of Economic Development to correct the impression created by these disclosures succeeded only in re-establishing the relative North-South parity concept of 1952-53."

The controversy over the 1963 census helped to demonstrate further that the census exercise is not simply a demographic or statistical matter but a political issue.

THE 1973 CENSUS

National population census was one of Gowon's nine-point programme to be accomplished before a return to civil rule. Political situation had changed. No more those powerful regions. 12 states had been created in their place - six in the north and six in the South. It must be noted and taken into consideration later that all the new states depend to a large extent on the Federal Government for financial assistance. Distribution Pool Accounts sharing is

based partly on population and number of States. Many welfare aspects also called population into consideration if we therefore rule out the political aspects of census because there was no politics, we cannot rule out the emphasis on the welfare aspects of it.

DISSATISFACTION

In order to remove the 1973 census from the list of contentious national issue, the Federal and State Governments appointed non-controversial figures to head the Federal and State census machineries.

But a look at the line up of the official who's who of the National Census Board revealed that the Board was dominated by the officials from the Western State.

It should be observed that Western State, a former Western Region, was not much affected by the creation of 12 states. Only a small portion of land of this former region was merged with the Lagos Capital Territory to form Lagos State. It was by far the most outstanding State in the Federation.

Elaborating on the composition of the Board, the *New Nigerian* of December 12, 1974 said "apart from several demography experts and other lesser officials of Western State origin, there were three Western Yoruba census bosses and experts consecutively following one after the other in a seniority-row, such as the Chairman of the National Census Board, Chief Adetokunbo Ademola, the Chief Census Officer, Mr. A. Adewole, and the Deputy Chief Census Officer, Mr. Fred Falokun."

This is not all. Many States were not represented in the headquarters of the National Census Board and in the technical division of the census board.

As expected, suspicion arose!

Answering questions from Malam Sidi Ali Sirajo during

the weekly RKTv programme at Kaduna on September 6, 1973, the Benue Plateau Military Governor, Mr. J.D. Gomwalk called for representation of all States in the Federation on the staff of the headquarters of the National Census Board and "not only on the policy making body". He pointed out that if such suggestion was not accepted "with all the goodwill in the World, with all the honesty, there will be some people who would not believe that the figures have not been tampered with."

Defending the staffing and representation of the National Census Board, Chief Adetokunbo Ademola said that apart from the Administrative section, it had not been easy to recruit personnel into the technical branch from the States of the Federation because of "the inability of some States to produce manpower required." (see *New Nigerian* of 21st September, 1973, page 1).

Will this explanation erase fear and suspicion of some Federating Units? Will they not even be pleased to have even figure heads representing their interests than none at all? Do we understand the practical characteristics of Federalism?

Many well-meaning Nigerians called on the National Census Board to let every State have full representation in both technical and administrative branches. But to no avail.

With all said and done, National population census was conducted and completed by the Census Board in conjunction with the State Governments. There was a census board in each State and it was more or less under the influence or control of that State Government.

In April 1974, Gowon announced the provisional figures of the census to be 79.76 million. In his broadcast to the Nation, he said, among

other things, "the figures are very provisional but I can say that the 1973 head count was probably the most thorough-head-count of human beings by human beings any where in the world."

But in some sections of the country there was discontent and dissatisfaction with these figures.

We have to note that result of the 1973 census which, according to provisional figures indicates a decrease of over ½ a million in the population of Western State. This is quite peculiar in terms of 10 yearly head-counts in the absence of natural disasters such as earth-quakes, floods, epidemics and the like.

Even the states -Midwestern, Rivers, Eastern-Central - with exception of South-Eastern which were seriously affected by the Civil war, have population increase in the 1973 census.

What should have happened? Did the Western State inflate the 1963 census figures which was now exposed in the 1973 census exercise? Or did the suspicion and fear created by the composition of the National Census Board, make some Northern States inflate their census figures as a remedial measure? I cannot answer but serve as a guide.

REACTIONS

Because of lack of confidence in the composition of the National Census Board, the Northern States seemingly participated in the census exercise in district of their southern counterparts especially the Western State.

But after the head-count, the Northern States were satisfied with the provisional figure because, comparatively, their States had a higher percentage of population increase; while the South, especially Western State had no reason to be satisfied.

These satisfaction and

dissatisfaction were evident in the editorial comments of Southern and Northern newspapers and views of some eminent Nigerians.

The reaction of the *New Nigerian*, a Northern paper on May 10, 1974 was one of satisfaction when it said among other things; "members of the census board, the staff, state governments and traditional rulers should be complimented for their untiring efforts in ensuring the success of the exercise. The arrangement by the Board with the co-operation of the army, the police and the public ensure that people were counted only on sight". But there was an instant reply to this editorial from one southern paper, *Daily Express* of May 11, 1974 under the heading 'SHUT UP' which warned that: "If it is not the intention of some organs to wang at some jaded strings of the harp, they should do to this nation one simple favour: SHUT UP."

Another southern paper, *Nigerian Tribune* editorial of June 4, 1974 also condemned this census exercise saying: "A census exercise whose outcome does not enjoy public confidence is wasted effort..... these unchecked figures have caused a great deal of depression, anger and fear among several sections of the Nigerian community."

Speaking on the same issue at the convocation of the University of Ife, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, former Premier of Western Region and former Federal Leader of opposition, expressed his objection to the provisional figures. He declared, "I have examined this result from several stand-points which time does not permit me to elaborate upon here, and as a result, I have been irresistibly impelled to the conclusion that the so-called provisional figures are absolutely unreliable and should be totally rejected by the supreme Military Council".

Also speaking on the post enumeration exercise being carried on to correct the anomaly in the provisional figure, Chief Awolowo declared, among other things that.... "It is idle, in the extreme, to rely on the same inefficient machinery by means of which the National Census Board had produced these appallingly indefensible provisional figures to mend itself in the short time at our disposal and produce acceptable final figures."

In spite of some opinion of the press, public and destabilising campaigns against the provisional figures, Brigadier Musa Usman, North-Eastern State Governor and member of the Supreme Military Council, told the press (see *Africa* No. 4 Jan., 1975) that "The Supreme Military Council does not intend to subject the census figures to a plebiscite" and that "the question of acceptance or rejection by the public of whatever figure the Supreme Military Council accepts does not arise."

Brigadier Usman of course was a governor of a State which according to the provisional figures had a population growth of 97.3 per cent within ten years.

In cancelling the volatile 1973 census figures the new Head of State, General Murtala Mohammed said: "With regard to the 1973 population census, it is now clear that whatever results are announced will not command general acceptance throughout the country. It has therefore been decided to cancel the 1973 population count".

SOLUTIONS

The command structure of the armed forces should be strengthened and maintained to accomplish national task like census and elections.

The meetings of 10 Northern Governors, 5 Western Governors, 4 Eastern Governors have potential danger of weakening national solidarity and patriotism. These

meetings should be reviewed in the interest of the nation. They still remind us of the three (3) old regions.

Compulsory registration of births and death, school enrolment, correct assessment of tax payers and issuance of I.D. cards to Nigerian citizens will serve as post-enumeration exercise.

In composing the National Census Board, the Military Government should take into consideration the characteristic of Federalism which occasionally allow the sacrifice of competence for the sake of general acceptance.

Severe punishment should await whoever influences, manipulates and distorts census figures.

The idea of going to hometowns to be counted usually follows the determination to ensure victory or an edge over the others. This should be discouraged because it breeds corruption and encourages efforts to influence, manipulate and distort census figures.

The deployment of soldiers or policemen should be to areas other than their linguistic jurisdiction for any singular national assignments like census or general election. This will reduce dysfunctional patriotism of some members of armed forces and the police.

NIGERIA

EARLY RAINS AUGUR WELL FOR FARMERS

Lagos BUSINESS TIMES in English 26 May 86 pp 1, 32

[Article by Dapo Ajibola]

[Text]

THE early rainfalls in the first quarter of this year, were ideal for early and high crop yields. This is because the rains seemed to mark the peak of an excellent weather which started after the 1983 drought.

From climatic points of view agricultural production this farming season is expected to be better than that of 1983, by about 70 per cent as drought is expected to affect less than 20 per cent of the total area of Nigeria.

In 1983, only about 80 per cent of the total area of the country was affected by drought. But, this situation improved in 1984 to about 30 per cent and further improved in 1985 to 20 per cent.

According to a Principal Meteorologist in the Agromet Section of Meteorological Department, Mr. L.E. Akeh, the peak of excellent weather conditions and crop-yield

is expected in 1986 and 1987 cropping seasons.

This is because weather conditions would have climbed up to normal in more than 90 per cent of the country from the worst conditions of 1983 and the devastating effects of the drought would have been wiped out or reduced to a minimum this season.

One of the pointers to this expectation is the early arrival of rains in the country in 1986.

Agro-climatic and agro-weather data for the first quarter, that is, January-April, showed that the rains came in time and their spatial or aerial distribution was good.

Records show that in April of 1984 and 1985 rains were got up to latitude 11°N, but in 1986 rains were recorded to have reached above 12°N.

The early and widespread, in time and space, rains of the first quarter of this year, plus the remarkable run of near normal weather conditions of sunshine and

temperature requirements are ideal for early and high-crop yields, if other agronomic practices are normal.

The rapid progression of the rains into the hinterlands or northern region is an excellent indication of expecting a marked double maxima rainfall in May and September in the south/western region (Oyo, Ogun, Ondo, Bendel and parts of Kwara).

This particular condition is ideal for two cropping seasons, especially cereals and vegetables which are good for double cropping calendar.

Rains recorded in the months of March and April showed that in many centres rainfalls figures exceeded normal, for example, in March, Kaduna recorded 17mm in one rainfall, this was 4mm, better than the 13mm normal mark. Makurdi in the same month recorded 32mm as against the 28mm normal.

Also Jos recorded 41mm as against 23mm normal, Oshogbo recorded 126mm against 76mm, Calabar 284mm against 168mm, Benin 111mm against 107mm and Ondo 191mm against 109mm.

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CSO: 3400/041

NIGERIA

BRIEFS

WORLD BANK, IFAD DEVELOPMENT LOANS--The Federal Government is to finance projects in the agricultural and transport sectors with a loan of 275,890 million naire from the World Bank and the International Fund for Agricultural Development [IFAD]. More than three-quarters of the amount will be used on livestock and food crops production, while the remaining will be expended on strengthening the operations of Nigeria Ports Authority and the railway corporation. The loan is repayable in 20 years. [Text] [Lagos Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 19 Jun 86 AB] /6662

GOVERNMENT APPROVES ECOWAS PROTOCOL--The second phase of the ECOWAS protocol has been approved by the Federal Government. It is expected to be signed after the ECOWAS summit to be held in Abuja soon. The ratification of the protocol implies that Nigeria would cooperate with member-states of the organization by providing jobs for their citizens who are capable of procuring employment. In a message to a 1-day meeting of commissioners for home affairs and information in Abuja today, the minister of internal affairs, Colonel John Shagaya, said applicants from such countries would be subjected to more rigorous scrutiny. He said steps have been taken to reinforce the immigration and customs departments to enable them to cope with the anticipated influx of aliens. Col Shagaya asked state and local governments to help provide residential accommodation for personnel of the departments to boost their performance. [Text] [Kaduna Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 18 Jun 86 AB] /6662

CSO: 3400/036

SOMALIA

KEY FIGURES IN SUCCESSION RACE NOTED

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 4 Jun 86 pp 1, 2

[Text] President **Siad Barre** is unlikely to remain president following a serious car crash on 23 May. Defence minister and first vice-president Lt-Gen. **Ali Samatar** has already effectively taken over government. There have been intense negotiations among the Somali clans, particularly Barre's Marehan clan, about a post-Barre balance of power. But at this stage it seems that Lt-Gen. Samatar is firmly in control.

The car crash happened in heavy rain 13 kilometres from Mogadishu on the road to Afgoi when the president's car, driven by the mayor of Mogadishu, **Hassan Abshir Farah**, ran into the back of a bus. A car-load of bodyguards immediately rammed them from behind. Five security staff were reportedly killed. Barre's injuries included three broken ribs, a severe blow to the head (apparently causing a blood clot on the brain), heavy abdominal bruising and possible damage to the kidneys, and severe nervous shock. Aged well over 70, his condition now appears to be stable, though he remains in intensive care at a hospital in Riyadh. He was unconscious for several hours. Yesterday he was still unable to speak coherently. His brother, foreign minister **Jama Barre**, continues to keep visitors away from the hospital.

Barre was originally rushed to the Medina police hospital in Mogadishu. Almost immediately it was decided to call in outside help. Lt-Gen. Samatar personally telephoned the governments of **Kenya**, **Saudi Arabia** and **Italy**. All offered immediate assistance. A Kenyan plane flew into Mogadishu early on Saturday morning with an emergency team of doctors. However, they said that they did not have the necessary equipment for further operations, so he was then taken off that afternoon to the military hospital in Riyadh by an airforce hospital plane sent by Saudi Arabia. (The Italian offer of medical help in Mogadishu was refused as it was thought that it might arrive too late. A couple of Italian doctors later arrived in Riyadh).

Most observers were surprised by Lt-Gen. Samatar's quick response to the crisis. In the past he has been accused of indecision on a number of occasions. Both the **Soviets** and the **Americans** at different times wanted him to take over from Barre. This time, however, there was no sign of indecision. Apart from overseeing foreign medical assistance for Barre and making sure, for example, that the accident was announced on the radio, he declared a first degree alert for the armed forces, effectively confining them to barracks. This was a crucial move, for it stopped moves by Marehan troops in Mogadishu to distribute arms and take over the city. The alert also discouraged the commando battalion (commanded by one of Barre's sons, Lt-Col. **Ali Mohammed Siad**) at the Bali Doogle airbase northwest of Mogadishu from moving into the city.

For a few hours on Sunday morning it seemed there might be trouble, especially after the radio station went off the air. But Lt-Gen. Samatar managed to call a meeting of senior officers at the Officers Club, where he got an almost unanimous endorsement for his taking over as interim president. This vote of confidence almost certainly covers him if he were formally to take over as president.

Naturally the Marehan clan is extremely worried about its future. A top-level meeting of about 60 Marehans was held in Riyadh last weekend. (One report said they included Maj-Gen. **Mohammed Hashi Gani**, the notorious former commander of the northern military sector who was sent on a training course in Texas two months ago. We understand he did telephone Lt-Gen. Samatar to ask permission to go to Riyadh, but had his request refused. He never left the United States). The Marehan meeting was most concerned at what would happen if Barre died. His formidable wife, **Khadija**, suggested her son, Col. **Masleh**, the wealthy head of the army construction department, should be declared acting president. The interior minister, **Ahmed Suleiman** (one of Barre's sons-in-law), apparently supported this idea. Though it seemed foolhardy, Khadija has her own intelligence network and has good political contacts. She knew what she was doing.

Another group suggested Jama Barre be put forward as acting president. (In the past this group argued that Siad Barre favoured the Marehan too much, and that it would be better if other clans were coopted into the centres of real power - an old

argument that led to the exile in Paris of the former ambassador there, **Mohammed Siyad Samatar**, and the arrest of Gen. **Omar Haji**). A third group suggested that Gen. Haji be released from jail and put up as an alternative to Lt-Gen. Samatar. The meeting ended in a compromise: Jama Barre was elected head of a Marehan committee which will coordinate activity with Lt-Gen. Samatar.

Various groups in Mogadishu are now organising themselves on the assumption that deals can be struck with Lt-Gen. Samatar and that Barre will not return as president. There is wide recognition that any attempt to push out Lt-Gen. Samatar could lead to a lot of strife. It is also acknowledged that he has considerable support in the army. Marehan officers and politicians alike realise this, and are thus prepared to fall into line - if the terms are right. They want Jama Barre to stay on as foreign minister (even though he has not acquitted himself well in this portfolio) and other Marehans to take over such key posts as minister of defence and chief of staff. Gen. Gani and Col. Masleh have been mentioned in this context.

Second vice-president Maj-Gen. **Kulmiya**, a Hawiye, and interior minister Ahmed Suleiman, a Dolbahante, have also been placing their bids. They want, respectively, the first vice-presidency and the defence ministry. In return, presumably, they would ensure Hawiye and Dolbahante support for Lt-Gen. Samatar. There are a number of senior Dolbahante officers, including a few divisional commanders. So Suleiman could be an important man for Lt-Gen. Samatar. There are other groups in the army and elsewhere which the new head of state will have to deal with. The Ogadeni and the Issaq could be troublesome. (We will examine this in more detail in a forthcoming issue).

The recent wide-ranging military reshuffle (AC Vol 27 No 11) will have worked to Lt-Gen. Samatar's advantage. The new northern sector military commander, Brig-Gen. **Mohammed Said Hirsee**, flew to Mogadishu when he heard of Barre's accident, and asked to go to Riyadh. Lt-Gen. Samatar ordered him to go back to Hargeisa. He did, immediately.

Obviously the next month will be crucial for Lt-Gen. Samatar. The Soviets like him, and have always thought of him as pro-Soviet (which he is not actually, but nor is he pro-American), and the Americans like him, believing him to be pro-American. In fact he is merely pragmatic.

/12828

CSO: 3400/045

ZAMBIA

KAUNDA PRAISES ROLE OF PARASTATALS IN DEVELOPMENT

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 30 May 86 p 1

[Excerpt]

PRESIDENT Kaunda has dismissed criticism against the parastatal sector in Zambia.

Opening Lubambe Centre, a Zambia State Insurance Corporation shopping and residential complex in Kitwe's Parklands area yesterday, Dr Kaunda said the country's mixed economy of private and parastatal enterprise had worked well.

The results and achievements of the corporation whose total revenue has risen from K48.2 million in 1976 to K217.5 million in 1985, clearly showed that parastatals could succeed and made a major contribution to development and economic growth.

"This success is not always the result of a monopolistic situation but due to good management and trained personnel," Dr Kaunda said.

He emphasised that the growth of the insurance sector vindicated the decision by the Party and its Government in 1970 to nationalise insurance business.

If insurance business was allowed to continue being run by private and international companies the profits which today were being re-

invested by the corporation would have been externalised.

The President was happy over the fact that the corporation has continued to operate efficiently and viably in the hands of indigenous management.

A serious training programme embarked upon by the corporation had created an organisation which was highly respected both locally and internationally.

The President commended the corporation for investing its funds into economically viable projects and the creation of appreciating assets like buildings.

Lubambe Centre, built at a cost of K21 million, will offer shopping and entertainment facilities and house more than 100 families.

The President appealed for vigilance and unity in the country to safeguard property and infrastructure against attacks from South Africa.

"The vicious activities of the enemy are setting Zambia behind in its quest to build the economy and spread the benefits of independence to the people."

The net assets of the life division of the corporation have grown from K49.2 million to K242.5 million in the past 10 years, corporation managing director Mr Saviour Konie said at the same ceremony.

Mr Konie attributed the achievement to continued development of the life sales force, in relation to numbers and training, and the introduction of new types of cover when market research indicated their need.

Later Dr Kaunda toured Kitwe Central Hospital and was touched by the congestion of patients in wards.

/12828

CSO: 3400/025

11 July 1986

ZAMBIA

KAUNDA ON AGRICULTURAL INCENTIVES, MAIZE EXPORT BAN

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 31 May 86 p 1

[Text]

Opening the Copperbelt Agricultural and Commercial Show in Kitwe yesterday, Dr Kaunda said it was pleasing that in spite of problems facing the farmers, this year's maize sales for the whole nation were estimated at 8.5 million bags compared with last season's 7.1 million bags.

"I wish to make it clear that no institution in this country, whether parastatal or private, should be allowed to export maize outside the country until the nation is self-sufficient in its maize requirements," he said.

The increase of 1.4 million bags should not make the country complacent because a total of 11.5 million bags of marketed production were needed to be self-sufficient in terms of demand for human consumption, industrial use as well as maintaining a 2.5 million strategic reserve.

Stressing the importance of the agrarian revolution, Dr Kaunda said the Show society should explore ways and means of guiding and encouraging district shows as a nucleus for agricultural and industrial development.

The Party and its Government had the interests of the farming community at heart and was prepared to do everything possible to make the life of the farmer as manageable as prevailing circumstances would permit.

He praised the work being carried out by co-operatives and large companies and organisations like the Mpongwe Rural Development Company, Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines, Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, Mpongwe Mission, Wijnberg, the Zambia State Insurance Corporation and others.

"These developments, coupled with the ever increasing small-scale farmers throughout the province and the farming activities of the district councils, give me a lot of hope that in the not too distant future, this province will be able to feed itself and even export the surplus."

The Party and its Government was trying everything possible to ensure that agriculture became the mainstay of the economy.

A number of policies, programmes and incentives had been adopted in the agricultural sector to ensure its accelerated growth.

Programmes such as part payment in foreign exchange for exportable

crops, attractive producer prices, the removal of ceilings for producer prices apart from maize and the decontrol of marketing operations for most of the agricultural commodities were all intended to create a business like environment conducive for accelerated growth.

The President called on farmers to take full advantage of the funds specially reserved for the agricultural sector in the auction system.

"So far utilisation of the funds by the farmers has been disappointing. I hope, therefore, that farmers and potential farmers will take this challenge and make Zambia not only self-sufficient in agricultural production but a net exporter of agricultural commodities."

He asked the people in the province to work hand in hand with the security forces to prevent smuggling of essential goods, including maize, into neighbouring states.

"Whatever maize is produced and bought in this province must be consumed here. Unless this is adhered to, our nation will always face artificial food supplies and shortages."

Dr Kaunda said the Party and its Government would like to develop and strengthen the cooperative movement in Zambia.

Together with primary societies cooperatives were at the core of efforts to develop agriculture, create

employment opportunities and improve the living standards of the people especially the rural people.

The President commended the idea of loans for ox-drawn ploughs and oxen to cooperative societies saying the system should be encouraged and spread throughout the nation.

President Kaunda directed that cooperative consumer shops be established to serve members with essential goods at reasonable prices.

Zana/AFP report: Hailed as the world's biggest and most modern tobacco auction facility, Zimbabwe's tobacco sales floor, a computer-controlled operation covering more than 8,135 square metres, was officially opened in Harare with unexpected praise from Prime Minister Robert Mugabe.

The abstemious Mr Mugabe does not smoke or drink and usually encourages such sober habits amongst others. Opening the spacious new auction floors, Mr Mugabe said: "I think all our mothers told us not to smoke, but they never told us not to sell. And if we sell tobacco, we must grow it, too. It is our industry and we must support it."

Mr Mugabe's remarks received hearty applause from the assembly of Zimbabwe's tobacco farmers and diplomats.

Mr Mugabe said he was opposed to smoking on principles of health, "but we also have economic principles to uphold and the tobacco industry is important to us."

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CSO: 3400/023

ZAMBIA

KAUNDA APPOINTS TARIFF INQUIRY PANEL, TERMS OF REFERENCE

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 3 Jun 86 p 1

[Text] **PRESIDENT Kaunda** has appointed the long-awaited tariff commission of inquiry which will make recommendations to stem imports of luxury goods which are threatening the survival of some local industries.

The 19-man commission headed by Dr Kaunda's former political adviser Mr Mark Chona, comprises many eminent persons from the Government, the parastatal sector, the business community, the labour movement and the University of Zambia.

A Government *Gazette* supplement dated May 30, said the commission would investigate and report on matters related to the tariff structure in Zambia and make appropriate recommendations.

The terms of reference require the commission to cover the following aspects:

- Divide the entire economy into sectors;
- Break down these economic sectors into special sectors;
- Identify which companies need protection or preference;
- Identify which products are essential or non-essential and which need protection or preference;
- Study the existing entire tariff structure in Zambia;

- Make recommendations as to which sectors require preference or protection without any need to propose specific tariffs; and

- Examine other issues relevant to its task, taking into account the Investment Act of 1986 and the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) treaty.

The full composition is as follows: Mr Chona now a businessman, (chairman), Mr Mumba Kapumpa, treasurer-counsel with the Ministry of Finance and Planning (secretary), Kitwe High Court judge Mr Justice Anthony Lawrence, Indeco executive director Mrs Namukolo Silangwa, Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines director Dr Edwin Koloko, controller of customs and excise Mr Japhter Nkunika, managing director of National Import and Export Corporation Mr Clement Mambwe, chairman of Zambia Industrial and Commercial Association, Mr Andrew Kashita and Mr Martin Sakala.

Others are permanent secretary for Agriculture and Water Development Mr Ng'andu Magande,

his counterpart for Commerce and Industry Mr Fred Kazunga, commissioner of taxes Mr Lazarous Bwalya, Commercial Farmers Bureau executive officer Mr John Hudson, Mr Aubrey Landless, a farmer, Zambia Congress of Trade Unions chairman Mr Frederick Chiluba, ZCTU general secretary Mr Newsstead Zimba, Mr John Allan Stillwell of Chlo-ride (Zambia), Dr Situmbeko Musokotwane of the economics department at the University of Zambia and Mr Patrick White.

The commissioners will be sworn in today at the High Court by the acting Chief Justice Mr Justice Frederick Chomba. The chairman, sitting with eight other commissioners shall constitute a quorum.

The President has directed that the recommendations should be submitted to him as soon as possible after the commissioners have completed their findings.

The appointment of the commission comes in the wake of widespread concern by both Government and the public

on the imports of luxury goods which have flooded shops since the foreign exchange auctioning system was introduced last October.

Dr Kaunda has repeatedly condemned indiscriminate importation of luxury items such as tinned fruits, biscuits, tooth picks and others at the expense of vital inputs to help revive the ailing economy.

Voicing grave concern on the same matter, Bank of Zambia governor Dr Leonard Chivuno told the Bankers Association of Zambia, that the "no funds involved" or "no questions asked" system of imports had been abused by some people.

/12828

CSO: 3400/023

11 July 1986

ZAMBIA

BELGIUM FIRMS INVEST IN AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 20 May 86 p 1

[Article by Gunston Chola]

[Excerpt]

BELGIUM's Huyecco group of companies will invest \$42 million on a farm and malting factory in Zambia, manager Mr Patric Huys announced in Ndola yesterday.

Already the group has been allocated the 11,000-hectare Mwembeshi State farm, eight km west of Lusaka by the Government which would be developed jointly with Indeco.

Feasibility studies had been completed and papers would be presented to the Huyecco parent company board in Belgium and to the Indeco directorate this month.

Mr Huys said it was planned to start on limited clearing capacity of 1,500 hectares a year spread over five.

"With that estimate we hope to complete clear-

ing the entire farm and bring it to full capacity in seven years," he said. The industrial plant to be built near Zambia Breweries in Lusaka would be completed in two years.

Mr Huys whose group has 15 subsidiaries dealing in malt, cattle feeds, export of frozen chickens especially to Arab countries, transport and engineering and several others said the farm would produce crops using irrigation.

When in full production the farm and factory would reduce Zambia Breweries' import bill of \$5 million spent to buy malt.

Besides malt the factory would grow sorghum for National Breweries to substitute maize being used in chibuku brewing.

Mr Huys said National Breweries used 36,000

tonnes of maize a year but the volume would be reduced by sorghum so that the bulk of it could go to food.

His company started business in Zambia in 1974, mainly supplying malt to the breweries. An expansion programme was initiated two years ago resulting in the setting up of Huyecco Zambia.

He said the present exchange rates were attracting many investors to Zambia and several Belgian industrialists and companies were planning to come.

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CSO: 3400/025

ZAMBIA

AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH NETHERLANDS, SWEDEN CANCELS DEBT

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 31 May 86 p 5

[Text] ZAMBIA and The Netherlands yesterday signed a bilateral agreement covering the utilisation of K320 million which The Hague will make available during 1986.

Under secretary in the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning Mr Fred Siame signed for Zambia while Mr Fred Roos signed for his government.

Speaking at the signing ceremony in Lusaka, Mr Roos, who is the head of Southern African section, development cooperation in ministry of foreign affairs, said his country was happy to help Zambia.

The two countries had a long standing cooperation. "On behalf of my government, I would like to assure you of our continued support in your economic development efforts."

Mr Siame said Zambia was grateful to what the people and the government of The Netherlands were doing to help Zambia.

It was heartening that of the total amount only about K60 million was a loan while the rest was in grants.

The K60 million loan and the other K40 million grant was secured after President Kaunda's tour

of that country recently.

Part of the money would be used to support balance of payment servicing, purchase of wheat, tsetse experimental survey in Western Province, agricultural projects and many others.

Meanwhile, Sweden has formally signed an agreement to write off K56 million worth of loans to Zambia.

Last month Swedish ambassador to Zambia Mr Jan Olander announced that his country had written off the loan to ease Zambia's debt service burden.

After a state visit to Sweden last year by President Kaunda, a further K12 million was written off.

Permanent secretary in the Ministry of Finance Mr Essau Nebwe signed for Zambia.

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CSO: 3400/024

11 July 1986

ZAMBIA

FINLAND DONATES TRUCKS, SPARE PARTS

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 31 May 86 p 1

[Excerpt]

THE Finnish government has donated 55 more Sisu trucks to Zambia worth K22 million to district councils through the Finnish International Development Agency (Finnida) to ease transport problems.

Finnish ambassador to Zambia Mr Garth Castren said yesterday the idea was to equip each council with at least four Sisu trucks.

Speaking when he handed over keys to the initial batch of 17 trucks to Minister of Decentralisation, Mr Rajah Kunda at Mutende Motors in Lusaka who are agents of the Sisu company in Finland, Mr Castren said the gift was part of a K100 million worth of financial aid to Zambia by his government.

During the past two years Finland delivered 450 trucks to Zambia with spares and the beneficiaries were district councils,

provincial cooperative unions and the Zambia Industrial, Forests and Forestry Corporation (ZAFFICO).

To ensure efficient running of the vehicles, Finnida was conducting weekly courses for drivers, mechanics and transport officers from recipient organisations in the maintenance of their Sisu fleets.

Mutende Investments manager, Mr Bogdan Patras, said his firm had started repairing Sisu trucks for district councils following the arrival of K800,000 worth of spare parts.

More spares were expected at intervals at the total cost of K4 million. "So there will be no problem in as far as maintaining and repairing these trucks is concerned."

The ambassador told Mr Kunda who was accompanied by his Minister of

State, Chieftainess Nkomeshya and permanent secretary, Mr Siilumelume Mubukwanu, that the condition of roads in Zambia was similar to Finland's.

The Sisu company had been making these trucks for more than 50 years and they were designed for rough roads. "It was because of the rough roads in Zambia that we were compelled to make this donation."

Mr Kunda thanked Finland for the assistance which had reduced the financial burden of the district councils and enhanced their efficiency.

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CSO: 3400/024

ZAMBIA

MOZAMBICAN, ANGOLAN REFUGEE NUMBERS SOAR

Lusaka ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL in English 2 Jun 86 p 1

[Text] RENEWED heavy fighting between insurgents and government troops in both Mozambique and Angola has driven another 10,000 refugees into Zambia during the past few weeks bringing the total to 30,000.

Commissioner for Refugees, Musyani Simumba confirmed at the weekend that 9,000 of the latest arrivals were from Angola where fighting between UNITA rebels and government troops had escalated.

The other 1,000 are Mozambican refugees who have also fled from their country because of heavy fighting between MNR rebels and government troops.

The number of refugees in Eastern Province was confirmed by area Member of the Central Committee, Betty Chilunga, who said the total number had increased to 13,000.

Angolan refugees, who were at present sheltered in the North-Western Province, numbered 18,000.

Mr Simumba conceded that the growing number of refugees was causing concern, but paid tribute to

non-governmental organisations for their assistance in looking after the welfare of the refugees.

Mrs Chilunga said however that in spite of the influx, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHR), the Zambia Red Cross and other agencies were working round the clock to make them comfortable.

The refugees have been given enough food, medical supplies and clothing "and the situation was under control."

Mrs Chilunga has meanwhile called on the Chipata District Council to meet its counterparts in Malawi on stepping up educational campaign to villagers along the border.

She said a number of villagers in the area do not know exactly on which side

they belong because the demarcation lines made by colonialists cut through their farmlands.

"We have two villages which still need political education on which side they legally belong. The council should look into this," she said adding that in the past relevant authorities have met to resolve similar issues.

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CSO: 3400/023

ZAMBIA

UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA UPDATE

Deans Office Restructured

Lusaka ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL in English 30 May 86 p 1

[Text] THE OFFICE of the Dean of students at the Lusaka Campus of the University of Zambia (UNZA) is being restructured and the incumbent Mr Robert Kapopo has been given other duties at the Registrar's office.

The administration has appointed senior assistant Dean of Students Mr Minerva Tembo to be in charge of the Dean's office for administrative convenience.

The decision to restructure the office was in line with the recommendations of the UNZA commission of inquiry which was chaired by former member of the Central Committee, Mr Wesley Nyirenda.

The University Council has sanctioned the restructuring of the office of the dean in view of the fluid situation at the campus.

On Tuesday, UNZA vice-chancellor, Dr Jacob Mwanza told a senior staff meeting at the campus that the

idea of restructuring the office of the Dean of Students was being looked into.

To ensure effective coordination, and to strengthen the office, Dr Mwanza said there was need to restructure the office so that it becomes academic and not administrative.

Meanwhile, the Lusaka campus administration was still assessing the damage caused to property during student unrest which led to the closure of the institution nearly two weeks ago.

Sources at the campus indicated that students were likely to be fined amounts exceeding K100 depending on the extent of the damage.

Already, the United Bus Company of Zambia (UBZ) was demanding payment of over K300,000 for transporting the students to their respective areas when the campus closed.

Returning Students to Be Fined

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 30 May 86 p 1

[Text]

UNIVERSITY of Zambia stu- dents at Lusaka campus will be fined K200 each on readmission, it was learnt yesterday.

The fine is to cover damage to Unza property during the recent unrest in which two cars were burnt.

Reliable sources said all students who would be readmitted would be told to pay "not less than K200".

Acting registrar Mr Wisdom Bowa could neither deny nor confirm the imminent fine which administration will impose on students as a punitive measure when the university reopens.

"I can neither deny nor confirm this because we are still holding meetings with the dean of students on how to resolve the problems at the university," Mr Bowa said.

The administration

held a meeting on Monday and would meet again today. Its recommendations would be submitted to the Vice-chancellor Dr Jacob Mwanza for consideration.

The campus was prematurely closed on May 18 after a violent demonstration in which students also looted university property.

Trouble started when Unza students union leader Mr Ben Chilufya was arrested and questioned in connection with an abortive meeting which was scheduled to take place at the campus.

The meeting which was banned by Unza authorities was supposed to be attended by representatives from all colleges and secondary schools.

After being questioned at the campus by plain-clothes policemen, Mr Chilufya was whisked away to Lusaka Central police station. He has been charged with assault and the case is before the courts.

The students roughed up the principal Professor Kasuka Mwauluka and went on an orgy of destruction smashing his official car, a Peugeot 504 and set it ablaze.

They also burnt a light green Fiat 131, Mr Bowa's official car and looted the canteen and the dining hall.

Prof Mwauluka, who

was at the centre of controversy later charged that the federal administration was undermining his authority because it wanted to get rid of key figures from the campus administration.

On Tuesday Dr Henry Meebelo, who is acting Minister of Higher Education, said the Government was working out measures to curb student unrest at Unza.

He said the Government, working with the Unza administration, would thrash out long-term measures to improve discipline.

ZAMBIA

CIVIL SERVANTS UNION REJECTS RENT HIKES

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 4 Jun 86 p 7

[Text] **THE Civil Servants Union of Zambia (CSUZ)**
has rejected plans to increase Government
house rents by 12 per cent to cover maintenance
costs.

CSUZ vice national chairman Mr John Mbewe said in Lusaka yesterday that civil servants were already over-taxed and it was unfair to expect them to sacrifice more money when they earned so little.

Mr Mbewe was reacting to a statement by Minister of Works and Supply Mr Haswell Mwale in Livingstone on Monday that Government had decided to increase house rents on two levels to cover maintenance costs.

He said the ministry needed at least K4 million annually to maintain houses and repair dilapidated structures.

He said in increasing the house rents, the ministry would take into account the low salaries of civil servants.

However Mr Mbewe said if Government effected the rent increases the State would be setting new conditions of service for civil servants because in a White Paper produced after the Lavu Two commission of inquiry, the Government had agreed that it would neither increase nor reduce house rents.

The White Paper further stated "that a housing maintenance fund should be introduced or alternatively the house rent paid should be read as proposed."

"The Government had accepted that the housing fund should be introduced and that rent should not be reduced or increased," Mr Mbewe said.

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CSO: 3400/023

ZAMBIA

LUANSHYA SMELTER SHUT DOWN FOR MAINTENANCE

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 30 May 86 p 1

[Text]

THE smelter at the Luanshya Division of Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) will be closed down for six months and the workers transferred to Nkana and others seconded to Mufulira divisions.

The smelter will be shut tomorrow for a major overhauling exercise to boost production in line with the five-year pilot investment programme announced by ZCCM chairman Mr Francis Kaunda last January.

The plan entails laying off 3,000 miners and closing down seven operat-

ing units. Already more than 213 miners from Chambishi and Konkola mine of Nchanga Division have been re-deployed to other divisions.

A ZCCM spokesman said yesterday that few employees would be retained for the rehabilitation of the smelter.

Those to be seconded include metallurgists mainly from the anode casting section while workers to be taken to Mufulira smelter would be recalled once renovations were completed in December.

He said even by December only one furnace would be operational at Luanshya

as the second one would not be ready until April next year.

"When both furnaces are fully operational, the Mufulira smelter will shut down for four to six months to allow overhauling of the electric furnace," the spokesman said.

During the time the Mufulira smelter would be shut some employees would be seconded to Luanshya division until renovations were completed.

The spokesman said families of the miners to be seconded to Mufulira would remain in their Luanshya homes "to avoid disruption of family life."

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CSO: 3400/024

ZAMBIA

BRIEFS

MANIPULATION BY 'DESTRUCTIVE CRITICS' WARNING--President Kaunda today warned leaders not to fall easy prey to destructive critics who might be used by the country's enemies to manipulate the poor economic situation to achieve their evil intentions. The president, who was speaking when he officially opened the seventh southern African [as heard] party conference in Livingstone, told the delegates that some people were sending circulars denouncing the party and its government on the poor state of economy, alleging that the government was doing nothing to improve the situation. Dr Kaunda said some unscrupulous critics cared more for their individual gains than for the public interest. Dr Kaunda said he knew these people should be forgiven because they did not know what they were doing. The president said it is the leader's responsibility at all levels to jealously consolidate and guard the country's hard-won independence day and night. Dr Kaunda said that reintroduction of boarding fees in secondary schools did not mean that the party hated the people but it was only that the government had no money to feed the people. [Text] [Lusaka Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 11 Jun 86 MB] /6662

CSO: 3400/040

11 July 1986

SOUTH AFRICA

PRESIDENT REAGAN, CROCKER UNDERSTANDING OF COUNTRY PRAISED

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 11 Apr 86 p 10

[Editorial: "He is Really Not Blind"]

[Text] The leftist elements in the country who are continually reproaching President P.W. Botha and the government for not yet having brought about substantial change in South Africa should pay a visit the White House in Washington. Perhaps President Reagan could change their views, or anyway the views of some.

At a press conference the night before last, he expressed appreciation for what President Botha has already been able to do, and he also showed understanding for the fact that changes cannot take place more rapidly.

Nevertheless, President Reagan's views of the obstacles on the path of reform of the State President were too simplistic. To see only rightist obstacles and to ignore the radical leftist elements who try to torpedo all the reforms because they are only interested in a total take-over of power, is simply not valid.

Still, President Reagan's positive attitude toward South Africa should be welcomed, as should the standpoints of Dr Chester Crocker, assistant secretary of state for African Affairs, when earlier that same day in a congressional committee he once again strongly objected to increased American sanctions against South Africa. His understanding of the South African situation was evident from, amongst other things, the following remark:

"Americans should resist the temptation to see South Africa as a moral one-act play whose curtain falls after the villain is punished. Our responsibility is to look at the consequences."

While there is appreciation for the official American standpoint, one should still guard against excessive optimism. After all, President Reagan succumbed to pressure already once last year when he initiated sanctions, though limited, against South Africa.

8700

CSO: 3401/109

11 July 1986

SOUTH AFRICA

NO CHANGE IN PFP POLICY NOTED

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 11 Apr 86 p 10

[Editorial: "Simplistic Progressive Rhetoric"]

[Text] If there ever was any hope that the Progressive Federal Party under Mr Colin Eglin's leadership would make itself less guilty of simplistic rhetoric, he smothered it himself yesterday. In his first policy speech since becoming the new leader of the PFP [Progressive Federal Party], Mr Eglin merely embroidered on the same theme as his predecessor: Eliminate all apartheid and a new dawn will break for South Africa.

To eliminate apartheid, a large-scale (and expensive) program of socioeconomic reconstruction and power sharing at all levels is all that is necessary to recover peace and order in the country, according to the PFP. But no advice was given as to how that power sharing should be brought about to the satisfaction of all those groups! Meanwhile the idea of a national convention apparently has been put on the back burner for a while.

This oversimplistic view of South Africa's problems once again brings up the question of whether the PFP and others understand the nature of the revolutionary attack against the country. Therefore it was necessary for Minister Chris Heunis to warn against some goals behind it, namely the destruction of the democracy and of the existing economic system.

How does the PFP reconcile its pleading in Parliament for the expansion of the democracy to all population groups while prominent Progressive members are involved in undermining the role of Parliament as an instrument for constitutional reform?

Extra-parliamentary action now is indeed the preference of the previous PFP leader, dr Van Zyl Slabbert, and the former chairman of the Federal Council of that party, dr Alex Boraine. The former addressed a meeting of the UDF [United Democratic Front] the night before last, and dr Boraine has already sung the praises of the UDF several times.

Therefore they are indeed--in Minister Heunis' words--involved in making democracy suspect as a process. Naturally that can only have a negative effect on those who must be involved in the expansion of the democracy.

After his election as leader, Mr Eglin stated that the PFP will gladly participate in Parliament. He will also have to state whether he will allow members of his own party to continue freely with actions which can bring the relevance of Parliament into question.

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CSO: 3401/139

SOUTH AFRICA

ROLE OF DEVELOPMENT COUNCILS QUESTIONED; ALTERNATIVES DISCUSSED

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 11 Apr 86 p 9

[Report by Retief Pienaar: "Black Councils Cause Alienation"]

[Text] In a study of black communities lagging behind, certain objections were expressed to DIE BURGER as to the role of development councils which take care of the administration of black residential areas and are responsible for the development of infrastructural services, amongst other things. The opinion was expressed that the current situation, in which an area such as South Cape Province, with its own individual circumstances and problems, is administered from Port Elizabeth, is not the desired state of affairs.

The large distance between the head office of the East Cape Development Council in Port Elizabeth and Oudtshoorn was one of the motivations for an agreement under which the municipality of that village is now taking care of the functions of that council in the black area of Oudtshoorn.

On 1 November of last year Oudtshoorn became the first local government in the country where the administration and development of the black community was transferred to the municipality and the black community council.

At the time, that measure was called a further phasing out of the tasks of development councils and a development phase in the gradual establishment of regional service councils.

Appreciation

In local government circles of other villages in South Cape Province one of the negative consequences pointed out is that the administration of inhabitants in a local government area is divided between city councils and development councils. That fragmented administration reportedly has caused alienation between whites and blacks.

However, there is also considerable appreciation for the role the development councils play.

Mr Rudi Barnhard, mayor of Mossel Bay and a member of the East Cape Development Council, says that the councils do good work within their limited means. The councils and their predecessors, the administration councils, have never had enough money and were forced to set priorities in the spending of it.

Removal

Mr Willem van Heerden, town clerk of Mossel Bay, says that the councils originated precisely because some municipalities did not meet their obligations with respect to blacks. In that context the establishment of the councils was a wise decision. The councils have "performed miracles," and reportedly there wouldn't be so many infrastructural problems in black areas now if 10 years ago much more money had been available to the councils. Whether a larger expenditure would have been politically attainable 10 years ago is another question.

Because of lagging behind for a number of years, the development councils are now being put under great pressure. The situation is worsened by an impression in certain circles that their demands will be met if they merely exercise enough pressure.

Mr Van Heerden says that the fact remains that the establishment of the councils has caused alienation between local governments and black communities. In some instances a village had a single white village administrator for the entire black area. Because blacks could not discuss their complaints and grievances with the white municipality and thus a communication gap arose, a degree of alienation set in between white and black communities.

In Mossel Bay there has been no official contact between the city council and blacks since the resignation of the last two municipal council members.

Finale

The city council of Mossel Bay does not yet contemplate taking over the functions of the development council in the manner of Oudtshoorn, because there is still a certain degree of uncertainty about the regional service councils which are going to be established. In those councils blacks will get the opportunity to bring up their problems.

Mr Carel du Plessis, city clerk in George, is not sure that the regional service councils will offer the final solution. He doubts whether a few blacks will be able to make themselves heard, as it were, in a large regional service council. He is in favor of a joint city council for George's whites, Coloreds and Blacks and believes that George can set an example for the country, just as it did in the case of Coloreds (report on p 1).

Mr Du Plessis says if the city council of George had also been responsible for blacks, he is sure that now the position of Blacks could be compared to that of Coloreds. He thinks there wouldn't have been any stone throwing then.

Distinctive

The city council has offered to do the infrastructural development in the new black neighborhood of Sandkraal for the development council, and it will even build the houses. It is difficult for the development council to do that from Port Elizabeth.

Mrs Elsabet Alheit, chief social worker of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning in South Cape Province, says that blacks in South Cape Province have distinctive problems which are different from those in East and West Cape Province. One difference is that the compensation level for blacks in the South Cape Province region is lower than in other regions, resulting in problems which have to be approached in a certain manner. More departments ought to have regional offices in the region, he thinks.

The adjunct minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Piet Badenhorst, says it creates certain logistical problems for the East Cape Development Council to have to work as far away as West Beaufort. Work teams of local governments can do such work less expensively.

Development councils unfortunately have also acquired a political image, partly because they have to apply undesired measures such as influx control.

Mr Badenhorst says the development councils will be phased out, after which the development function in black areas will possibly be handed over to black representatives in executive committees which will come into being under the new system of provincial government.

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CSO: 3401/139

SOUTH AFRICA

AFRIKANER LANGUAGE THREATENED BY SIMULCASTING OF TV PROGRAMS

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 15 Apr 86 p 10

[Report: "Simulcasting and Afrikaans"]

[Text] Rightly, well-meaning Afrikaners expressed serious concern yesterday in reports on the influence which simulcasting of TV programs will have on Afrikaans.

One of those who spoke out against the plan of the SAUK [South Africa Broadcasting Corporation] to broadcast original English sound tracks for dubbed TV programs over the radio is Professor Wynand Mouton, former chairman of the board of the SAUK. The seriousness of the matter is evident from the fact that a man who until fairly recently had a close tie with the SAUK, now says that TV simulcasting is "alarming."

A strong argument is made that the new plan will make it unnecessary for numerous South Africans to at least make an attempt to learn to understand Afrikaans, one of the official languages. In that context we can add that it should be obvious that a better knowledge of each other's language and culture is essential in a period in which reconciliation across borders is of utmost importance in South Africa.

With the establishment earlier this year of the new radio system under which advertising is allowed in the Afrikaans and English services, the general manager of the SAUK, Mr Riaan Eksteen, stated several times that the corporation would not neglect its cultural task. But how does that fit in with the statement of another spokesman of the corporation, namely that as far as he knows there is no specific goal to establish a target percentage for Afrikaans in the new simulcast system?

The new plan is only being tested. Thus there is still time to reconsider. It looks as if this is an opportunity for Afrikaner language and cultural organizations to let themselves be heard in no uncertain terms.

8700
CSO: 3401/139

SOUTH AFRICA

JPRS-SSA-86-073
11 July 1986

LE GRANGE DISCUSSES UNREST IN BLACK AREAS

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 26, 28, 29 Apr 86

[Interview with Minister of Law and Order Louis Le Grange by Jacques Van Wyk; "UDF Plays Greater Role in Unrest than ANC"; date and place not specified.]

[Text] Is it true that many black people are no longer paying house rent due to intimidation and that in some cases radicals themselves collect "rent"? This is one of the questions answered by Mr Louis le Grange, minister of Law and Order, in this interview with Jacques van Wyk. He also answers the question asked by many people these days: Is unrest increasing or is it leveling off? This is the first part in a series on the unrest in black living areas.

Question: Is there any sign of the unrest in black living areas leveling off? According to figures supplied by the South African Institute for Race Relations, 171 people were killed in political violence during March of this year. According to the institute that is the highest monthly number since the current wave of violence started in September 1984. Is that true?

Minister Le Grange: Although that institute is credible and I don't doubt the numbers, I don't know exactly what all is included in those and how they are calculated. I don't know whether they include incidents in the national states, such as tribal fights and murders which have nothing to do with the political unrest. Thus I cannot use that as a barometer.

It is a fact that nationwide there was an increase in incidents, especially violence by blacks against blacks. Great numbers of people are being murdered in the most atrocious manner in black areas, and the State President has already referred to that.

In the Cape Peninsula we have had cases which evidently were revenge operations between various factions which surely had nothing to do with political matters. They were about who controls what area in Khayelitsha or Crossroads or in other black living areas. These are all factors which one should take into account when one studies the situation of unrest nationwide.

In the Port Elizabeth region there were various murders of blacks by blacks which evidently originated from mutual disputes between organizations such as the UDF [United Democratic Front] and AZAPO [Azanian People's Organization]

and others. Thus there are many factors which one should take into account which cannot be directly or indirectly attributed to any government standpoint or action.

Although there is a noticeable leveling off in the broad scope of unrest which originates from the revolutionary climate, one must accept that the radicals apparently are succeeding in creating a momentary situation of unrest in place after place where previously there was clearly peace and quiet.

Question: Would you say that East Cape Province is the most difficult spot with respect to unrest?

Minister: I would not say it is the most difficult spot. It is traditionally a difficult spot. It has been a turbulent region for over 200 years for various reasons and under various governments. East Cape Province is a difficult area.

Question: Is it more difficult than Witwatersrand?

Minister: No, Witwatersrand with its large concentration of people is a very sensitive area. We are very conscious of that and therefore give a lot of attention to it.

Question: Would you say those are the two most difficult regions?

Minister: Yes. East Cape Province and Witwatersrand are two regions which we consider as very sensitive and to which we give considerable attention in all areas.

Question: You denied in Parliament that the radicals succeeded in controlling black neighborhoods and in some cases making them inaccessible to the authorities. But isn't it true that the radicals have acquired a degree of control in certain respects?

Minister: That is correct. The opposition says there are areas which are so dominated by radicals that the government is unable to exercise control there and furthermore that they are inaccessible to government forces, those so-called "no-go areas." I said there is no "no-go area" for the SA Police in South Africa, and I am not willing to accommodate any area of that nature. This is a point which I want to state very clearly. I do not accept that under any circumstances, and neither the SA Police nor the Security Forces as a whole will permit any "no-go areas" to arise for our security forces. After all, we certainly have enough strength for that. That is a point one should clearly understand. The public is being misled by the debate which is going on, and that distinction is not being made.

But it is nevertheless a fact that there are black areas where the UDF and other organizations exercise control by means of intimidation, which hampers the state administration.

Intimidation

Question: Is the collection of house rent an example?

Minister: It is true that through intimidation they talk people into not paying their rent. There are a number of such places in South Africa. And the amounts involved are considerable.

Question: It is claimed that the revolutionaries collect their own "rent" or levies in black areas. If black shopkeepers benefit by a boycott of white stores, then it is expected of them to hand over a certain amount to the radicals. Is that true?

Minister: We have been told that happens in a few places.

Question: Children are very much in the limelight in the riots. In answering a question in Parliament, you said that 2,106 children below the age of 16 were detained under the emergency regulations during one phase or another between 21 July and 31 January this year. There is talk of a reign of terror by children in some neighborhoods. How do you explain the involvement of so many children in incidents of violence and unrest?

Minister: That number might include one or two cases of police detaining great numbers of children for a very short time. I remember a case in Soweto where about 600 children were detained for a couple of hours one day. Thus that doesn't mean that all of them were continually detained, but this is part of the answer I must give. Those numbers are no doubt included in the rest. Thus the number is not as large as it seems. It must be qualified. It is a smaller number that was actually detained.

It is a well-known fact that revolutionary elements in South Africa concentrate especially on schoolchildren. And not only right now. They have been doing it since the early seventies already. The result was, first of all, the riots of 1976 which started in the schools in Soweto. Further we had the riots in the colored areas in 1979 and part of 1980. In 1982 we had some riots in the colored areas in Johannesburg. And now we have been having riots again since September 1984. Especially in the current situation schoolchildren are involved to a significant extent. That is a calculated strategy of the people who are behind the disturbances.

Most Important

Question: Do you mean the ANC?

Minister: Not only the ANC. The UDF is a very, very important factor. I put the UDF at a higher level as even the ANC with respect to some aspects of the unstable situation in South Africa.

Question: And the PAC and AZAPO?

Minister: Yes, they all belong to the same family, AZAPO, the UDF and all of them. But the UDF is the most important single organization.

Question: Do radical youths have any acknowledged leaders?

Minister: Children do not have any acknowledged leaders which can be directly identified as A, B and C. But they are very actively manipulated. One of the most important organizations in that context was COSAS [Congress of South African Students] which is now a forbidden organization.

Question] Are the leaders adults?

Minister: The COSAS men are all 18 or older. They are all young people. They are not children. It is not a case of children manipulated by children. They are being manipulated by adults.

--Monday: Minister Le Grange tells about the M-plan, the secret underground structure designed by Nelson Mandela in 1953. He also mentions the source of the fire arms which are often used in black neighborhoods these days to shoot at the police.

[28 Apr 86 p 7: "Nelson Mandela's Secret Plan]

[Text] The M-plan was drawn up over 30 years ago by ANC Leader Nelson Mandela, even before he had been sentenced to prison. The M stands for Mandela. SAPA-REUTER reported recently that cells of street committees have come to life under that plan in some places in East Cape Province, especially in black neighborhoods such as New Brighton near Port Elizabeth. Edgar Ngoyi, East Cape Province leader of the United Democratic Front, described it as a very important structure. "...We must understand what is taking place in a certain street," he said. In this second part in a series on the unrest in black areas, Mr Louis le Grange, minister of Law and Order, throws more light on that plan and answers a number of questions put to him by Jacques van Wyk.

Question: It is claimed that street committees are being established in some black neighborhoods under a plan designed by Nelson Mandela in 1953. Is that true? And what exactly is that plan?

Minister Le Grange: The creation of secret underground structures is not a strange phenomenon. According to Mandela's M-plan, ANC members should establish a cell in every street of every neighborhood. The cells of various streets are represented by a "cell steward." Seven cells form a zone, and the chief representative or "chief steward" of a zone, together with four other "chief stewards" constitute a department. The intention of this structure is not initially to serve as an alternative for any government body.

There is also the G-plan, started primarily by Matthew Goniwe in Lingelible. There too, black neighborhoods are divided into districts and subdivided in street committees.

Active

The M-plan is the cell system, and the G-plan is the street committee system. There is actually no difference between the two.

Question: What progress have they made?

Minister: Although the committees are not common in South Africa, there are areas where they are very active. They are isolated cases. In East Cape Province and in some Rand regions they are undoubtedly active.

Question: Mr Edgar Ngoyi, East Cape Province leader of the UDF, said recently according to a SAPA-REUTER report that he hopes the street committee cells will enable inhabitants of black neighborhoods to understand the policy of the UDF, which pursues the same ideals as the ANC. "Even in the future, when we achieve our freedom, we doubt whether we can discard the structure of area- and street committees." How important do you think those committees are in the attack on the government?

Minister: It would be naive to deny the existence of the committees, and the government continually pays attention to their activities.

Question: In the budget debate you said the police are often fired at in black areas. Are the revolutionary elements acquiring more and more firearms? How do they get them? Can we expect a more serious attack as a result?

Minister: Yes, the ANC has been ordering black people for several years already to steal as many weapons as possible in order to ultimately use them against the system. That is no secret.

Question: Then are most of the weapons they have available stolen weapons?

Minister: Yes, most of those that are available in South Africa. But we must make a distinction between weapons used here in riot situations and those used in terrorist activities of the ANC. I make a distinction between people who are involved in the common unrest and terrorists, people who were trained in terrorism, who occasionally are found here too. One pattern sometimes flows into the other. In general, terrorists use hand grenades and AK-47's, while the others use pistols, revolvers, shotguns and other fire arms. Those are mainly weapons stolen in South Africa and used against us.

Question: What role do criminal elements play in that unrest?

Minister: At the moment they play an important role. It is one of the characteristics of a situation of unrest that shortly after it originates the criminal element comes forward with robbery, theft, assaults, murders, etc.

It is a very important element, and the police are continually involved with it during the unstable situation. Therefore it is so important for us to try to make a distinction between crime committed purely from a criminal standpoint and crimes which originate from a revolutionary-motivated unstable situation.

Question: A very important factor is the struggle for the middle group. The success or failure of permanently recovering law and order in black areas

depends on their support. What kind of support do you receive from that group, and what can be done to protect them better?

Minister: The majority of blacks are lawful and peace-loving people, who want nothing to do with radical elements. But unfortunately that larger majority is intimidated by a small minority in certain areas.

This is a difficult problem to deal with, but the SA Police, with the help of the Defense Force and other security forces, does everything possible to identify intimidators, take action against them and bring them before the courts. Further the state is utilizing all available means to train as soon as possible as many municipal police as possible so that there will be a more visible presence of police in all those various areas.

Control

Question: In Parliament pleas were made in favor of blacks being allowed to protect themselves.

Minister: What they really had in mind was that more black municipal policemen should be trained. They are policemen who function in their own areas under their own administrative structure, their own city-, village-or community councils, so that they can better control and discipline their own people, according to their own style.

Question: Last year the SA Police had only 18,000 black members. Surely that is altogether too few.

Enough?

Minister: Yes, that is too few, but therefore I announced that the Force will be expanded with 40,000 men.

Question: But will 40,000 be enough if one takes into account that large black population of millions?

Minister: It won't be satisfactory yet, but according to our calculations we will, on that basis, be able to act much more effectively than now.

--Tomorrow: Minister Le Grange answers more questions. Do the police sometimes act too harshly. Do they fire too easily? What is being done to make police action in riots more effective and safe? What role do vigilantes or home guards play?

[29 Apr 86 p 13: "Home Guards Don't Suit Revolutionaries"]

[Text] The police, as first line of defense, is the most important target of revolutionaries. A particularly severe propaganda campaign is being pursued against it. In this part on unrest in black areas, the third in our series, Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, reacts to criticism expressed

with respect to police action. He also answers questions by Jacques van Wyk on the action of vigilante groups in black living areas.

Question: One of the goals of the revolutionaries is precisely to entice the police into drastic action. Is enough provision made in the training of policemen to teach them how to act in situations of atrocious violence and extreme provocation?

Minister Le Grange: For the past 18 months all new members of the SA Police have also been trained in riot control. All members in our schools get, as part of their basic education, training in riot control as well. All officers are trained as much as possible in riot control by means of a short course. Furthermore, human relations are an important element of that training. The maintaining of sound human relations is put first and foremost.

Question: One extreme criticism is that police brutalities are committed, the other that the police do not act firmly enough. Do the police act insensitively in disturbances, do they overreact and shoot too easily?

White against Black

Minister: There is no police force in the whole world which is not criticized for its action during disturbances. I must admit that due to the nature of the matter, under the current circumstances, it is possible for errors of judgment by members of the force to take place, and some have taken place. But there is immediate strong action against such members. It is absolutely not police policy to act unnecessarily harsh under any given circumstances. But what should definitely be remembered in that regard is that riots are not parlor games. The police often have to deal with perpetrators of violence, and therefore it is necessary on occasion for them to act tough.

We are also often reproached for not taking strong enough action. I am convinced that the police generally try to carry out their duty within the stipulations of the law. If we were to give in to the demands for stronger action, we would undoubtedly have to act outside of the limits of existing legislation.

Question: What troubles many people is that in those riots one gets an impression of white policemen acting against blacks.

Minister: Yes, that is true. There are not enough trained black policemen yet. But in the SA Police no distinction is made between the various racial groups. As far as I am concerned, the SA Police consists of almost 48,000 members, regardless of their color. Whether black members are used in the white area, or white members in the black area, makes no difference to me.

Question: Another accusation is that there are "apartheid vigilante squads" which attack blacks in areas where the black local authorities encounter problems.

Minister: It has become fashionable in some circles to use the word vigilante as a term of abuse. And I certainly don't want to give the impression that some vigilante groups have not acted incorrectly.

The vigilante system is in reality nothing but the old, traditional home guard system of black people. It is a system which they have applied themselves in their neighborhoods for many years. The home guard groups usually consist of men in a certain block or a couple of blocks who patrol their street areas for a few hours per evening and maintain good order and discipline. Usually they are parents, who through their action also prevent their own children from roaming the streets unnecessarily. The destruction of any form of home guard system suits the revolutionaries, for then they have the streets to themselves.

It is very easy to revile the vigilantes, but there are many honest black parents who would like to participate in the home guard system. If we destroy the system, there is no order, for we don't have the policemen to maintain order in that area as well.

One of the causes of the undisciplined attitude among black children these days is that parental authority, as seen from a traditional angle, is deteriorating so much.

Question: There is also the charge that the vigilante groups sometimes apply their own law.

Minister: Other groups do that too. I don't want to gloss over it, I don't encourage people being allowed to act outside of the law. What I am saying, however, is that one should also appreciate people who, within the framework of the law, maintain their own form of discipline in their traditional, orderly manner.

Question: Does the police take action against such groups if they transgress the law?

Minister: Yes, on occasion they have transgressed the law and the police then has taken action against them. When people act wrongly, they are addressed by the police. But this must not detract from the fact that there are responsible and orderly members of black communities who try their best to behave properly by means of this system, in the interest of their children and the community.

Question: Then would you say that vigilante groups are an important factor in fighting unrest?

Minister: I see a properly organized home guard system as an important aid in maintaining law and order in any black living area. But emphasis must be put on a properly organized system.

Question: Is there a continual search for more effective, but safer methods of riot control?

Minister: Yes, definitely. During the past few years especially, the SA Police has devoted especially great attention to its training methods and the improvement of equipment. The aim of that is to be able to act more effectively with less danger of causing injury or loss of life. In that context we have the cooperation of various authorities in South Africa. In some respects pioneering work has been done.

One example of a safer method is the use of light whips instead of heavy riot clubs. It is used primarily in incidents where we deal with children and other young people.

Secondly, there is our sneezing machine and, thirdly, the use of rubber bullets. In the use of the latter, a distinction is also made between children and adults. Previously the rubber bullet was fired with a single shot from a gun. Now a rubber bullet machine gun has been developed which is mounted on a Casspir. A belt with rubber bullets inside the Casspir is fed into the machine gun. The distance and speed of the bullets can be regulated.

In other words, if you're dealing with children, you adjust it at a lower speed and then the bullet does not hit as hard. But if you're dealing with a group of hardened adults, it can be set at a higher speed to hit harder. And it can also be regulated to fire a whole cluster together at people instead of single shots.

There is also the utilization of various types of light shot cartridges, fine pellets and others, and the use of Dennert wire. Those wire rolls can be rolled out of a vehicle to about 110 meters within 10 seconds. With it one can throw a "kraal" around people within a very short period of time.

Another example is the utilization of water canons. To act effectively, you need three water canons, especially in the downtown area. And you also need supporting vehicles and men,. The water canon is an important aid to us in acting effectively without loss of life or serious injury. It is also used with colored spray material in order to identify people.

Further there is the use of our helicopters for observation and for contacting people on the ground. It is effectively utilized as a type of "eye in the air."

The vehicles we use in riot situations have been improved--not only to offer us greater protection, but simultaneously to also be more effective without hurting or killing the people involved. Everything possible is being done to utilize or develop equipment with one goal in mind: effectiveness without loss of life. That is our entire approach in the police. We are not a war machine. We exist to maintain law and order.

Question: What is the police doing to prevent certain elements from succeeding in estranging it from the public? And what is it doing to gain people's sympathy and to improve its image? Minister: In the first place, the most effective weapon of the police to counter the attack against it is its own behavior. Its behavior under its slogan to serve and protect. We make

efforts to act accordingly at all times. It is our first and most important weapon against the attack which is being waged against us.

Second, the police should show at all times that it is acting from a position of strength and self-confidence.

Image of SA Police

Third, we try to propagate a positive message and to continually identify our enemies for what they are. Further we give considerable attention to the general image of the police with respect to its training, behavior, appearance and everything which is part of the whole picture.

Moreover we have a diversity of programs through which we continually promote good relations between us and the public.

--Tomorrow: To what extent black community councils and local governments have been affected by the unrest.

8700

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11 July 1986

SOUTH AFRICA

HEUNIS ON MEASURES TO IMPROVE CROSSROADS

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 23 May 86 p 1

[Text] The government is going to take active steps to speed up the improvement of Crossroads, Mr Chris Heunis, minister of constitutional development, told DIE BURGER yesterday.

Mr Heunis said that Mr Timo Bezuidenhout, regional director of his department in the Western Cape, is being freed from his other obligations and put in charge of the priority assignment of improving the area.

Mr Heunis said that the area that was burned down in the disturbances of the last few days has been evacuated. Orders have been given that it be sealed off so that people's belongings that were not destroyed can be protected and to prevent squatting from taking place in this area again. People who still have belongings and housing structures there will receive the opportunity to remove them under protection.

For the improvement of Crossroads that is enjoying high priority, the density of Crossroads will at any rate have to be reduced.

A start will now be made with providing the damaged area with proper services. As soon as it is finalized, Blacks from other parts of Crossroads will be moved there so that attention can be given to improving the rest of Crossroads.

Mr Bezuidenhout said in an interview yesterday that he will approach his job as head coordinator of "Operation Crossroads," as it is known, with eagerness and dedication.

He views the improvement of Crossroads as his first priority. In addition, he will attempt to get some form or another of accommodations for the poor of Crossroads as soon as possible.

Mr Bezuidenhout said that his starting point is that better living conditions must be offered to everyone. He will do everything possible to improve the social conditions of the people and to work towards a normalization of family life. The first requisite for this is that a family have some form or another of accommodations.

Mr Bezuidenhout gained his experience during the negotiations on resettling people from Crossroads to Khayelitsha. He has been involved with Crossroads continuously since 1979, and was designated Housing Man of the Year in 1985.

SOUTH AFRICA

NEW NATIONAL COUNCIL BILL PRAISED

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 23 May 86 p 12.

[Editorial: "National Council"]

[Text] The National Council Bill, which is being published today for general information and comment, is a particularly important reform initiative that can decisively help to lead South Africa out of the present situation of unrest towards a more peaceful future in which the country's full potential can be realized.

The minister of constitutional development regards the proposed council as a starting point for power sharing, which can result in a government of greater national unity.

About 30 members will serve on the Council: cabinet members, representatives of the self-governing states and 20 nominees. Ten of the twenty will be nominated by any organization, institution or interest group representative of Black people who live permanently in South Africa, and the other 10 will be nominated by the state president, who will be the chairman of the council.

The Council will receive wide powers, among which the right to consider all matters, including existing laws and proposed laws, as well as all steps taken or proposed by the Executive Authority, as long as the Council deems it to be in the national interest.

Apparently the Council, if it achieves consensus, will be able to make recommendations to the government concerning matters of national importance. Such consensus decisions will have to be implemented, and through this the Council's prestige and status will increase. Therefore, it can early on become a powerful instrument to ensure the equal inclusion of Black South Africans in a new constitutional dispensation.

The government's good faith in the reform process that it has initiated can hardly be more evident than in the establishment of such a prestigious body.

Hopefully there will be a positive reaction from colored ranks. Their leaders will now be able to participate actively and visibly in the creation of a new South Africa, in which everyone will be able to come into his own.

The alternative is revolutionary violence which, as elsewhere, will end in a revolution that will destroy its own children and eventually be much worse than anything else that preceded it.

SOUTH AFRICA

POLICE TO GAIN GREATER AUTHORITY IN CASE OF INCREASED UNREST

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 23 May 86 p 12

[Editorial: "More Muscle for the Police"]

[Text] The proposed modifications in the Internal Security Act, which provide for greater power for the Police, will certainly elicit outcry from those circles that view the existing security legislation as "draconic" already. It is indeed too bad that it is necessary to introduce intensified measures, but extraordinary circumstances demand special powers.

More rigorous legislation alone will not make South Africa a safer country. However, under the prevailing circumstances, conferring greater authority to the Police is preferable to declaring a state of emergency, which always has an oppressive impact. Current statutes apparently have deficiencies that make it difficult for the Police to take effective action in situations of unrest.

Leftist-radical groups will certainly attack the new legislation to toss around charges of a police state. These people are the first in line to suspect the Police, but whenever violence breaks out as in Crossroads right now, they are quick to ask why the Police does not put an end to it.

Nevertheless, it is striking that the bill contains a number of control mechanisms intended to protect the interests of the individual. In addition, it is emphasized that the change in the law is a temporary measure that can be put into effect in cases of intensified unrest. Every proclamation authorizing it will at the same time have to be introduced in Parliament.

The greater amount of muscle for the Police is clearly not intended to make South Africa a country in which people can simply disappear. This could only happen if the Police were to misuse its power. As with other legislation, this will have to be guarded against.

12271

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SOUTH AFRICA

NG CHURCH URGED TO ACKNOWLEDGE APARTHEID AS SIN

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 22 May 86 p 13

[Article about article published in DIE KERKBODE by Prof Adrio Koenig of the University of South Africa: "NGK 'Must Recognize That Sin'"; first paragraph is DIE BURGER introduction]

[Text] Ever since the NG Mission Church asked in 1982 that the NG Church confess its guilt in apartheid, this has always been the point of discussion at meetings between the two churches. When the executive church council of the NG Church declared that it does not feel accountable for this, talks with the Mission Church reached a deadlock. When the Stellenbosch NG Convocation acknowledged its guilt for the division in the church and in society, a new openness between members, a continuation of talks and possibility of reconciliation came about. In the following article, taken from DIE KERKBODE, Prof Adrio Koenig of the University of South Africa writes about the question of whether the NG Church should confess its guilt and of what.

For various reasons, the time has come for the NG Church to acknowledge its guilt for apartheid in the church and in society, but there are other things for which it does not have to confess its guilt, writes Prof Adrio Koenig, professor of systematic theology at the University of South Africa, in DIE KERKBODE.

Regardless of how one feels about ecclesiastical and political apartheid, it is clear from history that the NG Church has supported it in many ways. Ecclesiastical apartheid was moreover established by the NG Church itself and has been maintained for more than a century now.

The church did this on its own, without any cooperation from the government, although certainly in agreement with the general feeling and conviction of many Whites.

However, to demand that we should confess our guilt of this support means that apartheid must be a sin. Is this the case?

"Our sin is that through apartheid we have violated the central commandment of love and disregarded a basic fact of the creation (that all men were created in God's image). We must confess this to God and to man."

First of all, we have not loved the colored peoples of this country as ourselves, and we have not done unto them as we would have them do unto us.

Despite the good intentions, it was soon obvious that apartheid is a selfish ideology that has unilaterally promoted the interests of Whites at the expense of the interests of coloreds.

The NG Church demanded certain laws--and the government eventually created even more laws--that were biased in favor of Whites and against Blacks.

Apartheid in the ecclesiastical and political domain has hurt colored people.

"It is part of the NG Church's sin that we have not listened to this and fundamentally reconsidered apartheid. There is no doubt that we would be dissatisfied if we were to be treated in this way.

"This makes the NG Church's support of apartheid a sin."

Status

In general terms, apartheid has totally isolated the NG Church. Initially, it was the NG Church itself that broke off ties with wider church bodies. Later, these bodies took the initiative in this.

It is remarkable that the NG Church has held apartheid in such esteem that it has been willing to risk its entire position in Christianity for it. This means that, in a certain sense, the church's support of apartheid has assumed the status of a confession of faith.

"While our church leaders at first tried to console us with the opinion that it is the influence of liberalism and communism in the other churches that causes animosity towards us, it gradually became clear that it is the totality of Christianity that condemns us--regardless of whether it is liberal or conservative groups."

Thus, we must also confess that we have considered a thing that has nothing to do with the gospel to be so important, and that our church unity and community has been sacrificed for the sake of a political ideology.

We must also confess that we have been insensitive to Christianity's united abhorrence of apartheid and that we have thus been prideful and have misjudged the gift that God has given us in the communion of saints.

People who want the NG Church to confess its guilt of apartheid are sometimes accused of doubting the good intentions of the NG Church. There is no doubt that the NG Church has done and continues to do providential work among coloreds, and that the Lord has blessed this.

However, this blessing can no longer be offhandedly tied to apartheid. There are other churches that have done good works and are providentially blessed, and that have always been against apartheid.

A distinction must also be drawn between motivations for mission work and motivations for apartheid. The motivation for mission work was undoubtedly pure and noble, and there were also honorable motivations for apartheid, but other motivations that cannot be reconciled with the gospel have also played a decisive role.

No one can object to the motivation that everyone should hear the gospel in his own language, that culture also plays an important role in the church, and that coloreds should also have the opportunity to take a leadership role.

What is interesting, however, is that numerous other churches inside and outside South Africa have tried to implement these motivations, but that they have never done so through a church apartheid structure.

"Furthermore, there is the separate church for Coloreds, who have the same language and culture as we do. The mere fact of the NG Mission Church's existence counters the argument that it was merely the noble motivation of separate language and culture that led the NG Church to set up ecclesiastical apartheid."

Finally, we must confess that we do not know exactly how to continue, and that we need the spiritual community and help of other Christians in order to think out with them the road ahead.

Prof Koenig says that what the NG Church does not need to confess is that Afrikaners are worse and more evil than other people. "There have been greater sins in history than apartheid and greater sinners than the Afrikaners."

We do not need to confess that apartheid is a well-thought out demonic plan for destroying coloreds. Nor do we need to confess that everything that has been said about the NG Church is the truth.

"Even if we should confess our own attitudes, we do not have to imply that the attitudes of all other groups has always been good and right.

"Moreover, I am convinced that a heart-felt confession on our part will unleash a series of confessions in our country that, like a cleansing stream, will wash away the debris of injustice, alienation and hate and create room for a new beginning," Prof Koenig writes.

12271

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SOUTH AFRICA

CP REJECTS AWP BOER REPUBLIC IDEA

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 27 May 86 p 12

[Editorial: "Whither the Far Right?]

[Text] The events of the past week strongly indicate that the extreme right, in tow behind the militant AWB [Afrikaans Resistance Movement], is busy uniting in its resistance to the politics of reform. Primordial instincts are being shaken off in order to preserve the dream of a white man's country, but nonetheless the far right opposition overall seems rather confused ideologically.

On the one hand the AWB wants to forcibly revive the old Boer republics, where only the "Boers" can rule, as though there were a single province in the country where the Whites are in the majority. Heaven knows what is to become of the black majority in the Transvaal and the Free State.

The leader of the Conservative Party [CP], Dr A.P. Treurnicht, is in fact in favor of "separate freedoms" and he regards the PWV [not further identified] region as the white heartland. At the same time he rejects the AWB's Boer people's state concept as "more sentimental than realistic," however, although he does not in principle object to action that seeks to bring about "practical occupation of their own country" by the Whites.

As opposed to this, the "cultural" leader of the far right, Professor Carel Boshoff, sees partition as the salvation of South Africa. This implies that beside homelands for Coloreds and Indians, one should also be established for the Whites.

The HNP [Herstigte Nasionale Party] is favorably disposed to homelands for non-whites, but its rejection of a Boer state has led to the charge "HNP leadership vents spleen against Boer freedom struggle" in a far right periodical.

One point on which the different approaches agree is that the Whites must in one way or another be enabled to rule themselves on their own. Numerous voters are informed that this is possible, but the far rightists are silent

about how they are going to deal with the legitimate political aspirations of non-Whites who are not interested in homelands. Must they be forcibly suppressed?

The reforms that have already taken place in South Africa or have been announced are rejected by the radical groups that want to bring about a totalitarian socialist state. What hope can the far rightists have that even stricter separation will lead to peace and order?

That is nonetheless the sort of escapist politics they offer the voters. In the process they are doing the country great harm.

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SOUTH AFRICA

STRUCTURE OF GBS SYSTEM WITHIN NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 27 May 86 p 13

[Article: "GBS Not a Secret Instrument"; passage enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /What are the Gesamentlike Bestuursentra [Joint Administrative Centers], or GBS's, as they are usually called? Are they a "very sinister political development," as Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the official Opposition in Parliament, has called them on occasion? Why are only senior Army or police officers chairmen of the GBS's? In an interview with JACQUES VAN WYK, Lieutenant General P.W. van der Westhuizen, secretary of the State Security Council, explains what these nationwide networks are./

The Gesamentlike Bestuursentra (GBS's) are not part of a secret instrument of power. There is nothing sinister connected with them. Neither are they part of a form of government within a government, says Lieutenant General P. W. van der Westhuizen, secretary of the State Security Council.

There is no politics involved in the system, because civil servants operate it. That does not mean that the politicians should cold-shoulder it, he thinks.

The system is administered by the State Security Council, which is a cabinet committee. All recommendations are first authorized by the cabinet. There is thus no question of a government within a government, as some people imply.

The GBS is a component of the National Security Administration System (NVBS), an essential tool for the success of the state's counterrevolutionary efforts. It is part of a nationwide administrative network that cuts through red tape and enables authorities to act quickly and effectively. Although it coordinates departmental action in security matters, it has no executive authority.

There are currently eleven GBS's in the country. Each GBS branches into sub-GBS's, of which there are sixty. The sub-GBS's branch in turn into mini-GBS's, which are based on magisterial districts. The mini-GBS may in its turn branch into Local Administrative Centers (PBS's). There are currently about 350 mini-GBS's.

The creation of a network such as the GBS's is nothing new. Similar systems exist in other countries. They are as old as the world's systems of government, he says.

The chairmen of the GBS's are all elected by the members of the GBS concerned. Such a GBS may consist of about forty members. The fact that the present chairmen are all Army or police chiefs in the regions involved is because the members of the GBS's find this to their advantage. Such high officers have connections, an infrastructure and an organization at their command.

Currently every Army member who is chairman of a GBS is the commanding officer in the region. In the case of the SAP, he is a district commissioner. But a representative of another department can also be chosen. The chairman need not be a policeman or belong to the Army, General van der Westhuizen says.

All the members of a GBS are civil servants or officials of another administrative body, such as the Provincial Administration or the town clerk of a municipality. They represent the administrative institutions in the region concerned.

The principle is that one cannot administer the state from Cape Town or Pretoria. One must delegate down to the lowest level, where the people know local requirements and circumstances.

Cape Town is, for example, one of the seven sub-GBS's of the WP [Western Province] GBS. The other sub-GBS's are Worcester, Vredendal, Paarl, Springbok, Stellenbosch, and Saldanha.

These sub-GBS's are then further subdivided into mini-GBS's and PBS's.

The PBS's or mini-GBS's can furthermore create linking forums by means of which unofficial linkage can be maintained, such as with women's organizations, Rotarians, Rapportryers, an agricultural organization, adult education associations and taxpayers' associations.

The aim is thereby to defuse explosive situations, solve problems and conduct a dialogue with the population.

If necessary, a Joint Operations Center (GOS) can be created. It is not necessarily always activated. At the Joint Operations Center operations to handle, prevent or resolve conflict are planned.

A GBS meets to analyze input from the State Security Council, government departments or regional administrations, or to determine a course of action and to decide who should carry it out.

It furthermore coordinates the drawing up of the security master plan on the regional level and reports on the appropriate level. It sends situation reports to higher authority as to how things are going and what information there is. It also reports on the progress being made with the resolution of a

problem. It weighs departmental reports in relation to security. It also decides on training requirements, because everyone must know the system and be able to use it, especially in urgent tactical cases.

General van der Westhuizen illustrates a GBS's action in an urgent tactical case as follows:

A large gathering is organized in a town by revolutionary elements. The danger exists that it may give rise to rioting and violence.

Along with the civilian departments concerned, and depending on the facts, the security forces will make plans to deal with the problem. Departmental head offices and the Secretariat of the State Security Council are also informed. Communication can take place instantly because the GBS has good, secure connections at every level.

Ordinary people can make a contribution in the linking forums through the organization to which they belong. The ordinary man can, for example, contribute as a member of an agricultural organization. Or he may be a school principal or a teacher. In this way everyone of all races can get involved.

The involvement of non-Whites is entirely to the good, says General van der Westhuizen.

The GBS must itself develop organizations and procedures so that the full weight of the machinery of government, with all its departments, can be brought to bear on any situation on the regional level. Organizations and procedures must be employed at the right time and place.

Appropriate action and a minimum of violence are the objective. It is chiefly a matter of moderating the revolutionary climate, the prevention/defusing of unrest and the combating of terrorism and other revolutionary acts.

The members of the mini-GBS may, for example, consist of the commanding officer of the commando, the SAP station commander, the local commanders of the security police, counterinsurgency units and Railway police, the civil defense chief, regional heads of all government departments, the Provincial Administration and local administrations or coopted members.

The chairman of the mini-GBS is chosen by the members.

The importance of the mini-GBS making contact with the population, especially the silent majority, as an organ of the state; ascertaining and interpreting needs, bottlenecks, aspirations and expectations on the ground level; and taking steps to promote regional peace and prosperity in the departmental context cannot be sufficiently stressed, General van der Westhuizen says.

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SOUTH AFRICA

HNP CALLS FOR EXPULSIONS OF INDIAN SOUTH AFRICANS

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 30 May 86 p 14

[Editorial: "Back to 1948!"]

[Text] Just how far the extreme right wants to put the clock back came to light once again the the debate in Parliament on the admission of Indians to the Free State and northern Natal. The extreme rightists evidently attach no value to Dr H. F. Verwoerd's decision that the Indians be acknowledged as permanent citizens of South Africa.

Indeed, Mr Louis Stofberg of the Herstigte Nasionale Party [HNP] confirms that the implications of the HNP policy is that Indians must be repatriated. That party has always offered the pronouncements of Dr Verwoerd as all that is relevant to the South African situation. But now it appears that the country must be taken back even further, to 1948.

To be sure, the Conservative Party [CP] has not yet gone that far, but the history of the CP has repeatedly shown that it takes over the HNP's policy. A CP [parliamentary] frontbencher has already said that the party does not hold itself bound by the legislation concerning the Indians; the CP will undo it if it should come to power.

How long will it be before the CP also decides that Indians must be expelled from the country?

By these attitudes the far right parties not only once again demonstrate their intolerance of the non-White population, but also their inability to look political realities in the eye. It seems in fact as though they believe that certain groups can be wished away. And that rights that have already been acknowledged can simply be taken back again. The basis of this remains a hankering for white supremacy.

That more than 800,000 Indians have already had a claim to full citizenship for more than two decades and have received full voting rights makes scant impression on the CP and the HNP. The CP wants to pen up the Indians in a homeland in Natal, but how will it manage that? The Indians reject a homeland, and Dr A. P. Treurnicht has already admitted that the constitution cannot be altered without their consent.

The HNP's repatriation idea is likewise a daydream. It is, after all, unthinkable that the Indians in South Africa will of their own free will want to go to the poverty of an overpopulated India or that the Indian government will want to receive them. To use force will put South Africa in the same category as Uganda under Idi Amin.

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SOUTH AFRICA

FIGHTING FATHERS' TRAINING IN WESTERN CAPE DESCRIBED

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 3 Jun 86 p 1

[Article "By Our Army Reporter": "Western Cap Oldsters Take a Firm Grip"]

[Text] The Western Cape's first "fighting fathers"--the so-called Dad's Army--took the bit firmly between their teeth at Worcester yesterday and began to pull together on the first day of their military training.

The enthusiasm for their new role in the Army is running so high that most of them were already up at 4 a.m.--a full hour before the official rising time--to polish their boots and get ready.

This is the first time in the Western Cape that the "oldsters" who have never undergone military training will have among other things to learn to march, handle weapons and protect important public buildings.

Status

On Sunday afternoon about 350 male residents of Worcester, Ceres and other towns in the vicinity reported at Worcester for their week-long training. First they were subjected to a thorough medical examination, after which a few were found unfit for military training. Many of those who then had to return home were extremely disappointed and asked if exceptions could be made in their cases.

Early yesterday morning the draftees were first taught to make a bed properly, complete with hospital fold. For some it was the first time.

No distinctions of social status or community standing are made here. Everyone is addressed as "soldier." Everyone sleeps on beds in near rows in large halls, each one with the trunk containing his belongings at the foot.

Shirtsleeve

In the coming week they must stand in line for food (dished up in the so-called pig trough), get up at the crack of dawn, attend lectures and jump when the instructors speak. Between 5 and 6 p.m. bar facilities are available. After that it is more lectures.

According to Commandant Pierre de Villiers, commander of the Worcester Commando, the men are exceptionally positively disposed toward their training.

"Other men who were not called up this year approached me before the camp to ask whether they could come too. Some of those now undergoing training have real problems, but they came to the camp with a positive spirit. A spirit of comradeship took hold among them almost immediately, and they play tricks on each other in their spare time. For instance, one had his shirtsleeve sewn closed, and a pumpkin and a dry frog turned up in someone else's trunk," he said.

Solider P. A. Joubert, a civilian life principal of the Hex Valley High School at De Doorns, immaculately clad in his new uniform, rifle on his shoulder, said yesterday that the training is especially important for local defense.

Close

"A pleasant camaraderie has sprung up among our branch, and we quickly made friends with our fellow soldiers. The organization of the camp is first-rate," he said.

According to Soldier F. T. van Tondée, a businessman from Touwsrivier, he is 100 percent in favor of the training, even though he had to close his business for the duration.

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11 July 1986

SOUTH AFRICA

TERRE BLANCHE'S ROLE AT REPUBLIC DAY CELEBRATIONS

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 2 Jun 86 p 10

[Editorial: "Caught in the Web"]

[Text] If there was anyone who was still unsure as to who cracks the whip in far right politics in South Africa, all such doubts were surely removed on Saturday. The occasion was the "people's festival" on Republic Day in the amphitheater of the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria.

Although the gathering was jointly organized by the Conservative Party [CP], the Herstigte Nasionale Party [HNP], the Afrikaner Resistance Movement [AWB] and the Afrikaner Volkswag [AV], it was to all practical intents and purposes purely an AWB rally, with that organization's leader, Mr Eugene Terre' Blanche, as the main attraction.

The virtually contemptuous manner in which Mr Terre' Blanche chose to arrive, not simultaneously with the three other main speakers, but in his own fashion, preceded by uniformed guards and waving banners bearing the three-legged crooked cross, must have been sobering for Dr Andries Treurnicht of the CP, Mr Jaap Marais of the HNP and Professor Carel Boshoff of the AV. Likewise the somewhat subdued reaction to their speeches in contrast to the jubilation with which the AWB leader was hailed.

That there are still many sleepless nights in store for Dr Treurnicht and Mr Marais is certain. Whereas they have always seen themselves as the "saviors" of the white Afrikaner people, they now find themselves virtually helpless in the web of Mr Terre' Blanche and his militant followers.

Whether they are going to make serious attempts to get free of that web is open to doubt. So far it has suited them to hunt with the pack--after all, don't they have one "enemy" in common, the National government of President P.W. Botha?

Until they do in fact perhaps try to free themselves, they will remain shackled to the worst excesses of which the AWB is guilty. As well as to all the idiotic pronouncements at AWB gatherings, like last week's statement that when the Boer state has finally won its "freedom," Johannesburg and Soweto

will be leased to the Jews and the Blacks respectively for fifty years on the Hong Kong model! And thereafter? Will the rest also be rented out?

Professor Boshoff, at whose request the amphitheater was made available for Saturday's gathering, gave assurance that it would not be a political rally, but the smell of political gunpowder was unmistakeable. A time of serious reflection lies ahead for him too.

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SOUTH AFRICA

TUTU'S CAMPAIGN FOR SANCTIONS CRITICIZED

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 3 Jun 86 p 8

[Editorial: "Crusade with a T-Shirt"]

[Text] Any hope that Bishop Desmond Tutu would act with greater responsibility after his election as leader of the Anglican Church in South Africa was dashed by his latest crusade in Canada and America.

There he displayed his anti-apartheid T-shirt over his priestly robes while pleading for economic and diplomatic sanctions. So doing the bishop creates the impression that he has less regard for his office as church leader than for his political efforts to provoke feeling against South Africa with warnings that the third world war may occur because of apartheid.

The bishop is apparently trying to salve his conscience when he says that if the South African government cannot be overturned by sanctions, the church will approve violence as a final recourse. But violence is already implicit in what Bishop Tutu is pleading for.

It has obviously not impinged on him that more violence will be a consequence of punitive economic measures. Large-scale unemployment, especially among black people will, after all, be an unavoidable consequence of sanctions. And unemployment is a breeding-ground of violence, including violence by blacks against other blacks.

A regional director of Operation Hunger has just estimated that as many as 400,000 children will die of hunger if the campaign for a withdrawal of foreign investment should succeed. Bishop Tutu should tell the outside world once in a while how he proposes to reconcile such suffering with his Christian conscience.

Are all members of the Anglican Church content with their new leader when he is seemingly so indifferent to the duty of the Christian Church to bring about reconciliation? That is, after all, the only acceptable alternative to violence.

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SOUTH AFRICA

NEW SECURITY MEASURES, BETTER TREATMENT OF DETAINEES PROPOSED

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 3 Jun 86 p 8

[Editorial: "Security Measures"]

[Text] Comprehensive security legislation, which is regarded by the government as essential to combat the state of unrest more effectively, is being debated in Parliament this week.

All three houses will give priority to two measures, the Public Security Amendment Bill and the Internal Security Amendment Bill. The former empowers the minister of law and order to declare certain areas to be areas of unrest, where the police will receive wide powers to combat disturbances; the latter makes provision in its published form for the police to detain certain people for up to 180 days.

In discussions with members of the Council of Representatives and the Council of Delegates the minister adopted a flexible approach. Accordingly certain amendments proposed inter alia by members of those houses are acceptable to him and will apparently be incorporated in the legislation. Among other things the courts are given the power to review the declaration of an area of unrest. Furthermore, detainees will be able to receive visits from family members, legal representatives and physicians and will be able to make representations for their release.

The minister's willingness to compromise with members of the two other houses not only shows the government's desire to place these regulations in the statute book with the greatest possible measure of support, but is a further indication of the value of the committee system in Parliament. Reconciliation on very prickly matters can be accomplished there.

Although some members of Parliament may certainly have hesitations about such far-reaching measures, there are those among them who have personally experienced the revolutionary menace to democracy in the shape of bomb and handgrenade attacks and other forms of intimidation. The latter can testify how necessary it is that the forces of radicalism be checked, and that it is unfortunately not always possible to combat such an attack with velvet gloves.

It is scarcely thinkable that such considerations mean much to the PFP [Progressive Federal Party], which is fighting the legislation with the strongest form of parliamentary opposition. That party's leftist power group has, however, built up such a reputation on the question of national security that its complaints will meet with approval only in left-radical circles.

The government dare not allow its attempts to reform to be scuttled by radical forces that want to make the country ungovernable.

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SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

WEST COAST OIL EXPLORATION--The search for oil and gas will possibly be expanded to certain areas of the west coast that justify further exploration, the minister of mineral and energy affairs, Mr Danie Steyn, said yesterday in Cape Town. This step could lead to better prospects for growth on the west coast, he said. There are also other coastal areas that should be further explored for oil and gas. Mr Steyn spoke during a ceremony in Table Bay Harbor at which the tugboat Pentow Skua was officially christened. The actual "christening" was done by Mr Steyn's wife, Mrs Hermana Steyn. The Pentow Skua, the largest vessel in South Africa intended for service to oil rigs, has been rented by SOEKOR for 3 years and will serve in the Mossel Bay oil fields. Pentow Marine bought the tugboat for six million rands. [Text] [Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 21 May 86 p 1] 12271

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SOUTH AFRICA

AZAPO MEMBER ON STRATEGIES AGAINST APARTHEID

Brussels KNACK in Dutch 16 Apr 86 pp 101, 103

[Interview with Dan Habedi; by 'S.V.E.': "The Struggle is Over Azanialand"; date and place not specified; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Interview with a black Azapo militant about the majority's strategy, and the position of the races in the struggle against racism and colonialism in South Africa.

The South African political spectrum has become fragmented to a high degree, due to the division in the black movements, which has intensified even more in past months. The ANC/UDF parties (the prohibited African National Congress and its domestic-oriented partner), which are well-known here, has for a long time viewed the PAC (Pan African Congress of Azania) as an opponent--the more so, since ANC/UDF are Marxist and non-racially inspired movements and PAC is a more racial than class struggle-oriented movement. The difference between these two parties, in the first instance, is one of approach: the ANC, which recognizes both white South Africans and Afrikaners as legitimate South Africans, wants to cooperate with them to overthrow the apartheid regime and to replace it with a "democratic, pluralistic society right away. The PAC on the other hand, looks upon the whites much more as settlers who will be allowed to remain after a black victory, but until then there can be no cooperation between them. To these two schools of thinking a third can be added, the one of the age-old ethnic battles among the African tribes, which in the end benefit the white minority regime.

It is against that background that strategic discussions in the anti-apartheid camp in South Africa traditionally take place and against which, at present, the large concentration of South African workers in united trade unions like COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) must be seen. In these discussions one sees the difference between the groupings, the one being even more radical and/or politically oriented than the other. One of the more radical organizations is the Azapo, the "Azanian People's Organization." Azapo member Dan Habedi, a trade union member from Transvaal, was in Belgium to talk about a couple of issues.

Dan Habedi: Azapo in fact is fighting for the return of the country. Historically Azanialand belongs to the blacks, but fell into the hands of

the settlers who now rule it. Azapo, as a black liberation organization in the country itself, wants to retrieve the land in order to build a socialist society.

Historically Azapo dates from the sixties, when the population lived in fear, following the bloodbaths at Lange and Sharpeville, and didn't dare react. The ANC and PAC parties were prohibited. It was in the years of 1968-69 that the student organization, Saso, was formed by people like Steve Biko, and a high school student movement, SASM, "South African Students Movement," came into being which worked on dispelling the population's fears. The basic idea, in fact, was the same as PAC's idea; "A mentality revolution," and "psychological liberation." It comes down to the principle that you must destroy the myth of your opponent's superiority, before you can fight him. PAC had not been in existence long enough to clear away those myths, when they [the ANC and PAC parties] were prohibited. That is how the "black consciousness"-movement came into being, which dispelled the fears and knew how to mobilize the students, the youth and their parents. A black organization was formed in the country: the "Black People's Convention," BPC.

At that time, while the prohibited ANC and PAC parties were still very weak and not able to exercise any influence in the country itself, they nevertheless played a role by engaging in the armed struggle from abroad. The BPC gradually took over their role in the country. ANC and PAC had to wait for a new wave of repression and a new flood of exiles to really grow. In 1977 the government prohibited the "Black Consciousness"-organizations. Their leaders were imprisoned without due process, etc. Then the discussion centered on whether or not a new political organization should be formed. There were people who were opposed to that idea, since forming new political parties would be a waste of time because they would simply be prohibited.

To Occupy Territory

Dan Habedi: But our argument was that we knew what had happened after ANC and PAC had been prohibited, and, if we didn't form a new organization, the territory in South Africa would again be left vacant and subjected to the manipulations of the enemy. Therefore, we had to have an organization to continue the work. Azapo became that organization, the "Azanian People's Organization," which was formed in 1978. Since that date we have campaigned for cultural boycotts, against sham elections, those kinds of things. But as Azapo grew and gained in influence, ANC and PAC members outside the country began to see that the organization remained strictly independent--also independent from them--and were becoming an obstacle (one of the original intentions was to unite ANC and PAC into one powerful party). They also realized that they needed a political power base in the country. As you know, that is why the UDF was formed to defend a specific political line.

But our basic difference involves, as I said, the issue of how the country should be governed. ANC and UDF make apartheid and the people's resistance against apartheid their main goal, whereas Azapo sees territorial ownership

as the basic issue of the struggle. By discussing apartheid, as the UDF does, one acknowledges the government's legality, and is only criticizing the government for being partial and repressive, and for following a bad policy. Azapo does not simply want to question the government's policy, but also the authority of that government. Throughout history the black man has been governed by the white man without his consent. That has always been a case of oppression or conquest and the grabbing of land.

Could you explain the differences of opinion between you and ANC/UDF somewhat further?

Dan Habedi: In fact it is like this: we, Azapo, say that our struggle is exactly the same type of struggle as was waged in Zimbabwe, a struggle for the country, against colonialism: that was not a struggle for civil rights within a certain system, that was a struggle for the possession of the country and the destruction of a system. ANC comes up with the notion that it is apartheid against which we are fighting. But apartheid is a policy. By attacking a government's policy you do not touch the basic problem of legal authority: who actually is the lawful owner of the land? You avoid that problem, if you ask for participation in government, if you ask to be heard, and if you ask for a say in the management of the country: at the base of all this lies the fact that you concede that the country is theirs, that it belongs to the ruling parties. The "Freedom Charter," signed by ANC, explicitly says: "The country belongs to all who live in it, black as well as white." That shows that they don't have a problem with the fact that whites are in power, they do have a problem with the way those whites govern the country. We say that it is historical deceit to say that the country can belong to everyone. Historically the country belongs to the blacks. That is not to say, that we think that whites can not remain in the country after liberation. We do not deny that they have lived here for a very long time, but that fact does not erase our history. That is, more or less, where our difference of opinion lies.

For that matter, it is that difference of opinion too, which in the past caused the break between ANC and PAC. When in 1955 the "Freedom Charter" was written, some ANC members weren't that happy with the clause that says that the country belongs to everyone, which in the end lead to the splitting off of the PAC. Since that time, there is actually only one wing which conducts the struggle for liberation, and another wing, the ANC, which conducts a struggle for civil rights.

Contradiction

ANC says that it stands for the one man, one vote principle, don't they? Wouldn't that take away the power base of white rule?

Dan Habedi: Don't we know that? It is about "one man, one vote," and about guarantees for minorities and such things simultaneously. Isn't that a contradiction! They also keep on talking about the different cultures, thus creating nations within the one nation... When you start talking about the rights people have to their own culture and so on, then

it becomes again a matter of numbers of tribes within a liberated Azania. Then you are talking about Zulus who live according to their own culture, the Sothos, who have their own culture, and we will be divided among ourselves. He will have a tribal problem, and again the problem that there will be one dominant culture....

Does that mean that Azapo is more radical than the ANC and PAC movements?

Dan Habedi: That's it, we are more radical. But at the same time, if you look at what PAC really says, you notice that we will talk about Azanians, and they will talk about Africans. We don't say that Africans must rule. Nor are we going to say that the government must be predominantly African. If it should come to that point, then one should not see the government in terms of Africans, but of Azanians, because we are against racism. The matter of races must not be ignored, and that's it: we must actively work to eradicate all expressions of racism. For that reason, even if you could say that there is not that much difference between PAC and us, there is always that shadow that seems to hang more over PAC than over us, because of their stress on rule by Africans. Because that means that the African culture must be the culture.

After some time has gone by, it could happen again that Africans oppress and dictate to other groups. That is the reason why Azapo cannot join PAC, despite the fact that we have a lot in common. There is also this small difference: when Azapo talks about "blacks," PAC talks about "Africans." But when you are talking about "Africans," you are talking about people like me. But then what about the so-called "Indians," who also came into the country as forced labor? Who also don't have a say in this country with regard to what kind of society they would like to have? Who are, perhaps, less oppressed than the Africans, but who don't have any say over the degree to which they are being oppressed? And the same goes for the so-called coloreds. Therefore, when we Azapo members are talking about "blacks," we bring together all oppressed groups according to their experiences of oppression, according to the way in which they experienced the oppression, and not according to the degree of oppression which they endure, because that is not in their hands.

But you don't work with whites?

Dan Habedi: We don't work with whites. Because when the conversation is about the ownership of the country, you can not work in cooperation with the sons and daughters of colonialists to get back your own country. At the same time we do think that we can live together, after the liberation. But as long as the struggle lasts, as long as one group stands above the other, you will always have people who feel inferior, and people who feel superior, and they should not all be put into the same organizations.

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SOUTH AFRICA

FIRST BLACK PFP ORGANIZER DISCUSSES BACKGROUND

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 6-12 Jun 86 p 16

[Article by Franz Kruger]

[Text] Zola Buyana, the first African to be employed by the PFP as an organiser, is at pains to highlight close historical links with the ANC.

The 40-year-old former prison warder speaks of his father who was treasurer of the east London branch of the ANC when it was still legal. He hints at sympathies for the organisation--even after its banning.

When it is pointed out to him that some of the activities he claims to have been involved in may amount to crimes, he says: "Well, if they are crimes to the government, they are not crimes to the people." Nevertheless, he requests careful treatment of these "sensitive matters" as he could "end up in a corner".

What brings a former ANC supporter into the PFP?--"I find the constitutional proposals of the PFP similar to the Freedom Charter."

He claims to have decided, in consultation with a group of ex-Robben Island prisoners, to enter the party for strategic reasons.

"We came into the PFP office to discuss common ground, and it was agreed to link with the PFP," he says. Confidence in the party grew when it went to Lusaka to meet ANC leaders.

He believes strongly in the PFP's capacity to effect change.

"We must work hard to change the government's constitution. Things could be better if the PFP was given the chance to lead the country," he says, "The party stands a good chance of winning a general election because of the divisions in Afrikaner ranks."

Buyana concedes there are differences between the PFP-proposed Bill of Rights and the Freedom Charter, particularly when it comes to property rights, but points out that the Charter itself is ambiguous on the point.

How does he reconcile the Charter's roughly socialist position with the PFP's free enterprise position? When it comes to this sort of conflict, he says, his sympathies remain with the Charter, and he believes in a socialist future for South Africa.

"The mines, for instance, should not be privately owned. They should be for everyone."

His statement sparks a vigorous discussion with other party workers in the office. They point out the conflict with basic PFP policy.

Fellow organiser Ian Bently points out that present-day South Africa is not a good reflection of free enterprise, as there is so much state control of the economy. But Buyana is not deterred.

"What is wrong with the railways being owned by the state?" he asks.

Buyana has no time for the United Democratic Front, and makes some extraordinary allegations against the body, which numbers its patrons and leaders several prominent ex-ANC leaders.

The Front, he says, has been infiltrated to a large extent by former ANC prisoners who were granted remission of their sentences in return for working for the government.

"I know how my black people are being used, I don't want to be misused."

This infiltration has substantially affected UDF policy, he says. Asked for an example, he cites the "necklace" killings practised in many townships.

"The person who first used the necklace was Savimbi in Angola, who is a tool of the South African government.

"Then it was pushed by these infiltrators. The UDF speaks of peace-loving people. How can I call myself peace-loving if I'm burning people?"

But Buyana stops short of saying "necklace" killings are official UDF policy, and blames them on an "uncontrollable element in the organisation".

He also names three prominent local UDF leaders as police informers: "They hide away from me because they are afraid I will expose them."

How does he know of these things? "My own follow-ups," he says.

His attitude to Azapo is not quite so hostile.

"I have no quarrel with any organisation as long as it is not used by the government."

Turning to his work for the party, Buyana says it mostly involves recruiting members. "We hold meetings and talk about PFP polciy. Then we offer PFP membership."

There is often resistance because people say it is an all-white party. "But I tell them it will only become nonracial if they join." Buyana's efforts have already led to the establishment of a full-scale branch at Tuba village in Kwelera, a black spot outside East London. There are also members in Duncan Village, Mdantsane, Mgwali and other rural and urban areas in the border.

His work in these areas has not been uncontroversial. There have been accusations from community groups that PFP recruitment in areas with existing residents' associations has caused divisions which have, in some cases, led to physical clashes. Buyana denies the charges.

"There was no intention to take over from any organisations, but rather to rescue the people from police and army intimidation."

PFP general secretary Robin Carlisle said that although Buyana was the first African organiser employed by the party, there were full-time workers of other groups employed elsewhere. The PFP was hiring people according to their suitability, not on the basis of race.

Although race might sometimes play a role, in Buyana's case it had been primarily language. Besides, Buyana was a "bloody good organiser, a man with fire in his belly".

Carlisle said there was no PFP "push into the townships". The emphasis there was less on recruitment than on monitoring.

The party was able to mediate in some conflict situations, and at the same time indicate to black communities "who we are, what we stand for".

Black organisers would be particularly useful in this work, he added, but would also be used in general political work. In Johannesburg, Carlisle said, there had been a good response to the canvassing done for the party by a coloured worker.

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SOUTH AFRICA

TRANSKEI MINISTER VIEWS ON TBV-RSA COOPERATION

MB160549 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1609 GMT 15 Jun 86

[Text] Umtata, June 15, SAPA--Multilateral cooperation in southern Africa agreed upon between the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states and South Africa in 1982 had a comprehensive framework for economic and regional development in the region, the Transkei minister of foreign affairs, Mr Mtutuzeli Lujabe, said in a report tabled in the national assembly this week.

The work programmes for socio-economic development since 1982 have dealt with agriculture and environment affairs, industries, commerce and tourism, transport, posts and telecommunications, health and welfare, manpower and training, urban development and housing, education, judicial matters and financial relations.

"Multilateral and regional cooperation in southern Africa has become a reality. Meetings aimed at achieving economic and social development take place, on the average 15 times per month.

"Regular direct and ongoing contact between ministers, heads of departments and senior officials has led to a deeper mutual understanding, the adoption of common goals and harmonised approaches, the development of strategies and the carrying through of deliberations into practical results.

"At the 1985 summit the five leaders reaffirmed their governments commitment to peaceful socio-economic development in southern Africa. The improvement of the quality of life in the subcontinent is an essential condition for peace and stability in the region," Mr Lujabe said.

/8918

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11 July 1986

SOUTH AFRICA

TAMBO COMMENTS ON SANCTIONS, DURBAN BLAST

MB161125 Dakar PANA in French 0949 GMT 16 Jun 86

[Text] Paris, 16 Jun [PANA]--Oliver Tambo, the ANC president, said in Paris on Sunday that economic sanctions against South Africa will not kill the black victims of apartheid.

The sanctions will not kill us, it is apartheid that kills us, he said among other things during a live interview in the 1300 newscast of French TV 1.

Mr Tambo, who is in Paris to attend a UN conference from 16-20 June on economic sanctions against South Africa, has categorically rejected statements that black South Africans and the neighboring states will suffer most from sanctions. He said those who defended these ideas know nothing about South Africa and the genocide occurring there.

He said we who are suffering from the repression of the racist regime demand from the international community the implementation of mandatory world-wide economic sanctions against Pretoria.

On the issue of the Durban car bomb explosion which killed two white females, Mr Tambo said that at this time he did not know if his movement was responsible for the attack. He added that he was going to get confirmation and that he had not the means to [word indistinct].

Questioned about what will happen on Monday, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Soweto massacres which caused more than 700 deaths, the ANC leader answered: I don't know what will happen tomorrow. We can live with massacres. And he added: we will go from massacre to massacre. He emphasized that it is about time to stop the massacres through abolishing by all means the odious system of apartheid.

Moreover, he rejected the recent statements by Mr Pik Botha, South African foreign affairs minister, that the ANC plans to nationalize all businesses, to install a 1-party system, and to destroy all liberties in South Africa--the country of all South Africans, whites, blacks, Indians--and to destroy apartheid, an inhuman system.

The ANC, he emphasized, is struggling and will always struggle to implement a democratic and multiracial society, and he added that nothing will deviate them from this basic objective.

He said further that as the European peoples fought Nazism, the South Africans had their own Nazism (apartheid) in South Africa, that they will fight it and will win. The ANC president, in conclusion, said that Mr Botha is telling lies but that earnest people are not listening to them.

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CSO: 3400/050

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

SECURITY BILLS' WITHDRAWAL URGED--Cape Town, June 12, SAPA--The Alliance of Black Reformed Christians in Southern Africa (ABRESCA) has appealed to the government to see reason and withdraw the Public Safety and Internal Security Amendment Bill. "When those who are meant to be the servants of the state are themselves placed above the law and are given licence to act without checks and with total indemnity, then such persons are not servants but tyrants," Dr J.F. Bill, organising secretary for ABRESCA said in a press statement today. "We are extremely disturbed at the further restrictive powers which these bills shall give to the minister of law and order and those under him. "We appeal to (the government's) conscience to see reason and help resolve the present crisis, not by the use of force, but by the willingness to negotiate a new future with the true and recognised leaders of the black people of this land. "We regret the banning of meetings commemorating June 16. It is extremely insensitive and will only serve to heighten the tension that already exists. We have no option but to call on our members to obey God rather than man." [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1924 GMT 12 Jun 86 MB] /8918

BLACKS FAVOR MIXED SUBURBS--Four out of every five Blacks identify with people who see no harm in different race groups living in the same suburb. Rejection of Multiracial areas comes mainly from those with no education (24 percent against), those living in towns and villages and 16 to 24-year-olds (both 22 percent against). These results come from Market Research Africa's sociomonitor study which has been measuring social trends amongst Blacks since 1976. Findings are based on a representative sample of 1 500 Black adults living in cities, towns and villages throughout South Africa. "Most Blacks are in favour of having access to White areas, as this will give them freedom from restrictions and the chance to live in a better area," according to the study. [Text][Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 13 Jun 86 p 12]/12828

BLACKS ON MANAGEMENT PARTICIPATION--Nine out of every ten urban Blacks believe that workers should have some say in the running of their section of the company where they work. Support for participation in management is found in all sectors of the community, but is particularly strong amongst males aged 25 to 34, and the income group where household incomes exceed R700 per month. These results come from Market Research Africa's Sociomonitor Study which has been measuring social trends amongst Blacks since 1976. Findings are based on a representative sample of 1 500 adults. Commenting on the findings, Mrs Cora Tshabalala, one of the researchers at Market Research Africa who designed the study said, "Blacks believe that not only do they have a right to have more control over matters that affect them, but that they can make a good contribution to improving productivity." [Text][Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 13 Jun 86 p 12]/12828

CSO: 3400/020

SOUTH AFRICA

EPG REPORT DESCRIBES FAILURE TO INITIATE DIALOGUE

Group Issues Warning Against 'Bloodbath'

MB121303 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1027 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] London, June 12, SAPA--The Commonwealth peace mission to South Africa has warned that "concerted action of an effective kind may be the last opportunity to avert "what could be the worst bloodbath since the Second World War."

In its report officially issued in London today, the seven-member Eminent Persons Group [EPG] describes its failure to initiate dialogue between the South African Government and the banned ANC and charges that "in recent weeks the government would appear to have moved consciously away from any realistic negotiating process."

It concludes that for all the people of South Africa and the sub-region as a whole "the certain prospect is of an even sharper decline into violence and bloodshed. A racial conflagration with frightening implications threatens."

The report does not directly call for sanctions--but that is what it means by "concerted action."

It lays blame for its failed mission squarely on the South African Government.

"Its obduracy and intransigence wrecked the Commonwealth's initiative, but the issues themselves will not go away, nor can they be bombed out of existence," it says.

The EPG says its mandate was to foster negotiation with a view to establishing a non-racial and representative government. "It is our considered view that, despite appearances and statements to the contrary, the South African Government is not yet ready to negotiate such a future--except on its own terms.

"Those terms, both in regard to objectives and modalities, fall far short of reasonable black expectations and well accepted democratic norms and principles."

In contrast to its opinion of the government's attitude, the EPG describes Nelson Mandela and the president of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, as striking figures.

"Their reasonableness, absence of rancour and readiness to find negotiated solutions which, while creating genuine democratic structures would still give the whites a feeling of security and participation, impressed us deeply," the report says.

"If the government finds itself unable to talk with men like Mandela and Tambo, then the future for South Africa is bleak indeed."

The EPG states that after many meetings with ministers "we are left with the impression of a divided government."

It says even the enlightened ministers seemed to be out of touch with the mood in the black townships--"and so, of course, are the great generality of white South Africans, only some 10 per cent of whom, we were told, have ever seen conditions in a township."

The EPG's gloomy, 70 page report, drafted after 5 months of meetings with white and black leaders, concludes that blacks have had enough of apartheid and are no longer prepared to submit to its oppression.

"The strength of black convictions is now matched by a readiness to die for those convictions. They will, therefore, sustain their struggle, whatever the cost."

The report concludes that black leadership believes diplomatic persuasion has not and will not move the South African Government sufficiently.

"If it also comes to believe that the world community will never exercise sufficient effective pressure through other measures in support of their cause, they will have only one option remaining: that of ever-increasing violence.

"Once decisions involving greater violence are made on both sides, they carry an inevitability of their own and are difficult, if not impossible, to reverse, except as a result of exhaustion through prolonged conflict."

The EPG's message to 49 Commonwealth leaders, who received the report during the past 48 hours, is this:

"The question in front of heads of government is in our view clear. It is not whether such measures will compel change; it is already the case that their absence and Pretoria's belief that they need not be feared, defers change.

"Is the Commonwealth to stand by and allow the cycle of violence to spiral? Or will it take concerted action of an effective kind? Such action may offer the last opportunity to avert what could be the worst bloodbath since the Second World War.

"We hope this report will assist the Commonwealth--and the wider international community--in helping all the people of South Africa save themselves from that awesome tragedy."

The EPG, led jointly by former Australian Prime Minister Mr Malcolm Fraser and former Nigerian head of state General Olusegun Obasanjo, repeatedly urges the government to release Mandela.

A chapter of its report deals with their meetings with him, and heaps praise on the jailed ANC leader.

He is described as a symbol for blacks, a man with physical authority and commanding presence. "He exuded authority, and received the respect of all around him," the report says.

It accepts that releasing him presents the government with a dilemma. "The government expressed the fear that his release might result in an uncontrollable explosion of violence. We do not hold this view. Provided the negotiating process was agreed, Mr Mandela's own voice would appeal for calm. We believe his authority would secure it."

The report describes Mandela as a "fervent nationalist" but says it found no trace of his "supposed communism, either now or in the past."

"In that respect we clearly differ from the government, which has resorted to the most dubious of methods to denigrate his reputation," the EPG says.

Leaders from seven Commonwealth governments are due to meet in London on August 2 to discuss the report and make recommendations on what action to take.

With its clear call for sanctions, there is certain to be strong pressure at that meeting for economic measures to be taken. British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher is alone in the Commonwealth in her opposition to sanctions, and the talks in August will determine whether she maintains her policy.

In a foreward to the report, the Commonwealth secretary-general, Sir Shridath Ramphal, accuses the South African Government of a "calculated assault on the peace process itself."

The secretary-general a long-time supporter of sanctions, says the report's message is a call for action.

"The means left open to the world community are few, but they are real," he says. "Whether we call them sanctions or, as the group has done, economic measures, they come to the same thing."

"Effective economic pressure, applied particularly by those major economic powers who are South Africa's principal trading partners, and to whom it looks for major financial flows, pressure which demands change while there is still time to bring it about by peaceful means."

EPG Cochairman Interviewed

MB130804 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 12 Jun 86

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Well, the declaration of a new state of emergency coincides with the publication of a report by the Eminent Persons Group [EPG] set up at Commonwealth conference in Nassau last year. They spent several months in South Africa trying to bring the different sides together in negotiations. In the event, they failed.

The report says the South Africa Government has no intention of dismantling apartheid, establish political freedom, lift the ban on the ANC and other parties, or release political prisoners such as Nelson Mandela.

The group comes out in favor of economic pressure, a policy resisted particularly by Mrs Thatcher's government here in Britain. Julian Marshall asked the cochairman of the EPG, former Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo, if he thought the Commonwealth would take notice of their recommendations.

[Begin recording] [Obasanjo] Well, if the Commonwealth leaders set up a group and there are a group of ladies and gentlemen, and they expect the group to come up with a report, and that group unanimously comes up with a report, I believe as ladies and gentlemen they will have to look at that report and unless they have any reason to pick holes in that report, I believe also that they will have to accept that report.

[Marshall] So you would expect the British Government, for instance, to come up with some kind of measures that would satisfy the EPG that the British Government was interested in applying economic pressure against South Africa?

[Obasanjo] I will expect that the British Government will take it seriously.

[Marshall] Have you completely closed the door on any possible future mediation role for your group?

[Obasanjo] Well, it is not up to us to close the door. It is up to the South African Government to open the door and for the Commonwealth leaders to decide whether the door that has been opened is wide enough to make a role possible for our group. The present mandate that set up limits us both in scope of work and in time and with this report submitted at the time we have submitted it we have met the two aspects of our mandate: the scope of the work and the time limit.

[Marshall] At some point in the report you talk about being impressed by the ANC's willingness to negotiate. Now, surely, they are in a position to be able to say that. They have nothing to lose in expressing a desire to negotiate. They have everything to win and nothing to lose.

[Obasanjo] Well, if they have lost everything for the past what, since the ANC came into existence, since 1912, and they have no political rights, no economic rights to talk of, they can be moved around and be oppressed and exploited, they can be killed--the way they are being killed--obviously, if they then see an opportunity other than shooting their way out, because these are human being. Don't forget. They enjoy life just as the whites enjoy life, they love their family just as the whites in South Africa and elsewhere love their family, they want to live with their family, they want to enjoy the good things of life and so why shouldn't they? [sentence as heard] So if they agree to give in temporarily on violence and negotiate, it's understandable and if those who enjoy everything now and deprive others, the majority, from enjoying anything, feel that it will continue to be that for the rest of their lives, then they do not understand history and history is bound to prove them wrong.

[Marshall] You yourself personally had an opportunity to meet Nelson Mandela three times when you were in South Africa. How did you find him?

[Obasanjo] I found him an impressive man. I found him airily well informed in spite of his incarceration in prison. He said to me and to the whole group just as we have to try to satisfy to some extent the aspirations of the black communities of our society, we have to allay the fears of the white community and when he was further asked, look, what do you see? How do you see this progress? What do you see emerging at the end of the day? He said well, I know that the first government that will come out of the negotiations will have to be what we call a negotiated government which will include black and white because we still need to have time to build up confidence. [end recording]

/8918

CSO: 3400/051

SOUTH AFRICA

FAILURE OF COSATU'S MERGER ATTEMPTS DESCRIBED

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 4 Jun 86 pp 3, 4

[Text] The country's largest trade union federation, the *Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu)*, has failed to meet its end-of-May deadline for merging its 30 or so affiliates into 10 industry-based unions. Though *Cosatu* remains a powerful organisation, prolonged internal bargaining by its members will detract from its overall political muscle. So far affiliates in only two sectors - food and transport - have actually merged.

Most observers believed the May deadline was always optimistic. After all, it took four years of sometimes heated negotiation to establish *Cosatu*. Since the latter's launch last November (AC Vol 26 No 24), *Cosatu* officials have progressively toned down their expectations of rapid mergers between affiliates. In April, for example, *Cosatu* secretary-general **Jay Naidoo** said the merger resolution could be "interpreted to mean that there must be substantial progress" by 31 May.

The fundamental problem lies in *Cosatu*'s make-up: a combination of unions from the *Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu)*, a number of independent unions, and unions affiliated to the *United Democratic Front (UDF)*. Though the *Fosatu* and independent unions come from broadly the same tradition as their UDF counterparts, they have very different ideas about how to organise themselves. *Fosatu* and the independents emphasise shop-floor organisation within specific industries, gaining a reputation as the most professional unions to have emerged since the early 1970s, while the UDF unions emphasise opposition to apartheid, thus somewhat neglecting shop-floor organisation.

The other key difference is that *Fosatu* and the independents are unequivocally committed to industrial unionism - as epitomised by *Fosatu*'s slogan

"one industry, one union". Most UDF unions, on the other hand, are general unions, which organise themselves across different industries. The few UDF unions which do try to stick to one industry are less rigorous in doing so, and are less well organised, than their *Fosatu* counterparts.

To outsiders the philosophical differences between industrial unionism (with strong shop-floor bases) and general unionism often seem inconsequential. Yet conflict over this ethic at least once led to the breakdown of the talks which eventually spawned *Cosatu*. The general unions, it will be recalled, were excluded from the talks for a long time. One of the trade-offs for bringing the UDF unions back into the talks was that industrial unionism would be a non-negotiable condition.

Thus the cracks between *Cosatu*'s members were papered over in the interest of achieving greater clout. Certainly all the unions under the *Cosatu* umbrella are virulently anti-apartheid; they see themselves as part of a joint struggle for a non-racial, democratic country; and they have all concentrated, inevitably, on recruiting African, Indian and coloured workers.

Before *Cosatu*'s inauguration it was widely expected that *Fosatu* unionists would dominate the new federation. As it turned out, however, it was the UDF unionists (and *Fosatu* ones with strong UDF sympathies) who got elected to most of *Cosatu*'s executive posts. Hence *Cosatu*'s identification with the broad, populist anti-apartheid movement, and its frequent support for UDF campaigns. Yet *Cosatu* does remain independent from the UDF, and the creation of national industrial unions remains one of its tenets.

Aside from quasi-political differences about the desirability of industrial unionism, the logistical difficulties of achieving it are considerable. Disbanding the general unions and "redistributing" their members to a new amalgamation of industrial unions is a complicated administrative task. The process is aggravated by suspicions harboured by some unions about the validity of membership claims made by other unions, particularly by UDF ones.

In February *Cosatu* instructed the dominant unions in each of the 10 industrial sectors to oversee the mergers, and the general unions to identify the various sectors to which their members should be reallocated. Two of the largest general unions - the *SA Allied Workers' Union* (SAAWU) and the *General & Allied Workers' Union* (GAWU) - more or less accomplished this.

But, as a measure of the above difficulties, only the transport and food unions managed to go the whole way and merge within the May deadline. The resulting two new unions are certainly imposing: the food union - the *Food & Allied Workers' Union* - has a membership of over 60,000, made up from the former *Food & Canning Workers' Union* (one of the independent unions), *Fosatu's Sweet, Food & Allied Workers' Union*, and a small Cape Town-based union, the *Retail & Allied Workers' Union*. A number of workers have joined from SAAWU and GAWU. The new union is headed by former *Food & Canning Workers'* secretary-general **Jan Theron**. The new 26,000-strong transport union - the *Transport & General Workers' Union* (TGWU) - is composed of *Fosatu's* union of the same name (whose secretary-general **Jane Barret** heads the new union) and the *General Workers' Union* (GWU).

One possibly academic point which should not at this stage be overlooked (bearing in mind the endless merger negotiations of other unions) is that TGWU's members are not exclusively in the transport sector. Some time ago GWU - a general union as its name suggests - decided to concentrate on three sectors: transport, engineering and building materials. It came to be regarded as one of the most effective independent unions. Partly because of its excellent organisation, GWU's members in the engineering and building trades have been retained in the new TGWU. Similarly, office cleaners, who formed a rather odd component of the old TGWU, are in the new TGWU. Presumably at some stage these non-transport members will have to be transferred to another industrial union.

The eight industrial sectors still trying to merge are: textiles, clothing and leather; paper, wood and printing; mining and electrical energy; metal, motor assembly and motor components; chemical and petroleum; commercial and catering; local government and public administration; and domestic workers. In addition to these, *Cosatu* aims to establish four new unions for construction, railways, harbours and airways, and posts and communications and agriculture. Naidoo, who says he is satisfied by progress made by *Cosatu* so far, predicts that the new unions will soon be set up and that the eight remaining mergers will have taken place by the end of the year. One limiting factor for such optimism is *Cosatu's* limited finances.

/12828

CSO: 3400/046

SOUTH AFRICA

FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS OF PROJECT FREE ENTERPRISE REVIEWED

Nation's Downward Slide Warning

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 9 Jun 86 p 9

[Article by Colleen Ryan]

[Text]

Only drastic and immediate action by the Government and the business sector can reverse South Africa's steady slide into violence and economic disorder, Project Free Enterprise has warned.

The report "Economic participation in South Africa — strategy for survival" was launched after a survey found highly negative worker attitudes towards business in South Africa.

The initial findings identified worker perceptions such as businesses were exploitative and funded from limitless resources of capital provided largely by banks and Government. Profits were used for management bonuses and for taxes.

There was little understanding of the need for productivity to boost capital in a company. Most employees believed raising prices was the most effective way of creating revenue for wages.

Urgent steps

Project participants found in a subsequent study that urgent steps should be taken by the Government to help improve worker perceptions. The report recommended:

- The Government should create the opportunity for all individuals to have equal access to property ownership within South Africa.

- The removal of influx control.

- The scrapping of the Group Areas Act and the use of market forces of supply and demand as control measures instead of interventionist rules.

- The deregulation of small business to encourage development.

- The introduction of direct political representation and participation for the black community within central, regional and local government.

- Complete restructuring of the education system under a single ministry to implement a more economically viable and world-orientated curriculum.

The project acknowledged the importance of the business community adopting a "micro" strategy to be developed in conjunction with the Government's "macro" reforms.

The business community was committed to:

- Develop managerial systems to ensure optimum levels of worker-participation in decision-making and problem-solving.

- Introducing strategies to promote the development of black managers.

- The development of reward system to increase work inputs.

The researchers also identified the specific steps that the Government should take to ensure reform. The recommendations, together with the percentage of endorsements from respondents, fell under the headings:

PROPERTY OWNERSHIP

Measures with 100 percent endorsement were those calling for genuine freehold for all, removal of discretionary site allocation, development of individual initiative, racially declassify financial institutions, delegate developmental responsibility downwards, modernise tribal, private and homeland land tenure.

Recommendations which lacked complete support were the call for ownership for all races in all areas (71 percent endorsement), ownership for each race in own area (59 percent), combination of open and restricted areas (65 percent), removal of rent control (88 percent) and withdrawal of the Development Trust and Land Act (94 percent).

BLACK PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT SYSTEMS

All respondents rejected the formation of a unitary, one-man, one-vote system while only 36 percent supported the

principle of geographic grouping according to race.

Other recommendations with endorsements ranging from 71 to 93 percent were the principles of limited central government, a bill of rights, megadevolution, limited central government powers.

With regard to bring about change, all respondents favoured low profile negotiation but only 17 percent were satisfied with the present process of change.

The role of the private sector in bringing about black participation should be to influence government, all respondents agreed. Only 50 percent favoured prescribing to government while 93 percent believed in educating workers.

EDUCATION

The recommendations adopted by the majority of respondents, in their order of importance, were for the introduc-

tion of a single ministry of education, private sector involvement in education, real world curricula, improvement of teacher training and restructuring curricula.

GROUP AREAS ACT

All respondents supported the removal of the Group Areas Act, but only 5 percent favoured forced integration. The majority favoured total and effective opening of CBDs and delegation to local authorities.

All participants favoured scrapping influx control.

SMALL BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT

The majority of recommendations were accepted overwhelmingly and include a call for lower building standards, free choice of business hours, removal of licences for starting small businesses, relaxation of many restrictive measures and re-evaluation of zoning in black areas.

'Negotiate With Black Leaders'

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 9 Jun 86 p 9

[Article by Colleen Ryan]

[Text] The Government must begin immediate negotiations with recognised black leaders to avoid further polarisation and violence in South Africa, says the Project Free Enterprise report.

Lack of clarity about reform was eroding support for moderates and increasing the power of left-wing and right-wing extremists, it added.

The researchers also warned against the continued detention of black leaders.

"The erosion of the moderate/rational leadership is being accelerated by every detention of any black leader.

"This is making the possibility of constructive negotiation increasingly remote. Many potential, or even previously moderate/rational leaders, are

being driven into the 'frustrated' and left-wing extremist camps."

The researchers said the current political spectrum consisted of left-wing extremists, frustrated blacks, the moderate, the insecure whites, and right-wing extremists. Surveys had found that most people were willing to move towards a moderate/rational position.

"This is entirely dependent upon the degree of clarity and meaningfulness of future reform. The current situation is unfortunately characterised by an unacceptably high degree of vagueness."

VITAL ACTIONS

The breaking down of extremism and the creation of an effective coalition of moderate elements required four vital actions:

11 July 1986

- Immediate negotiation with recognised black leaders.
- A statement of intent which should suggest a guide plan for what South Africa would be like in two to five years. Such a statement should be issued by next January.
- Formulating and implementing a new constitution. Such constitution should be a medium- to long-term process.
- Business sector involvement. The report said the Government had lost credibility to the Left and the Right.

The report said there were several options open to the

Government for creating a future South Africa: it could take unilateral decisions; consult with other population groups; engage in direct negotiation.

The only effective way of bringing about change was for the Government to decide whether it wanted to negotiate with elected, non-radical leaders — or at a later date with only pro-violence/radical leaders.

The researchers developed a "barometer", which begins at where South Africa is at the moment, and goals for the future.

Inadequate Reform Worsens Crisis

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 9 Jun 86 p 9

[Article by Colleen Ryan]

[Text] South African is in a political crisis and the situation is being worsened by inadequate reform, the Project Free Enterprise report found.

The report said there was no longer time to think or talk about change. "In this instance, time has passed us by, and will no longer wait for South Africa."

The researchers said the country had progressed through three phases and had entered a fourth:

- Phase one (1902-1948) was characterised by disequilibrium and the need for clarity of goals.
- Phase two (1948 — 1961) was a period when there was equilibrium between challenge and response, dynamism and flexibility.
- Phase three — (1961 — 1979) was characterised by disequilibrium between challenge and response, stagnation due to loss of flexibility, waste, unwillingness to introduce change and loss of creativity.
- Phase four — (the present stage) is characterised by stagnation and hardening of resistance to change, escalation of crisis and crisis management.

The hardening of attitudes of vested interest groups was the single most important stumbling block to change, said the report.

Ad-hoc change was not good enough — "The only option is fundamental change which is seen to be implemented and not merely talked about."

An example of inadequate change which did not alter strategy was the "Rubicon" speech.

The report warns that South Africa's sensitivity and vulnerability to political, economic and social issues, both internal and external, would increase.

The report said the best position for implementing change had been at the start of the third phase.

Survival and growth required the development of an entirely new socio-political and socio-economic dispensation.

The report warned: "Current political structures are incapable of coping with the problems of a growing clash of interests. The socio-political infrastructure is historically too inclined to appease rightist vested interest groups.

"This prevents development or achievement of change which would be acceptable to the moderate majority."

The report said business should accept its position as a politically non-aligned party which could play a central role in negotiating change.

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 9 Jun 86 p 9

[Article by Colleen Ryan]

[Text] Project Free Enterprise has called for the establishment of a single ministry of education in South Africa, saying:

"Only a unified administrative system will be acceptable to the black community and will reduce black alienation."

Education was a fundamental function of the State. The cost of disparities in the provision of education was manifold and serious.

At a national level, decisions and expenditure could be most effectively handled by a single ministry with an overview of the needs, priorities, adequacies and inadequacies within the system.

Researchers said there should be leeway for decentralisation on a regional and community basis. Other priorities were:

REAL WORLD CURRICULUM

- Introducing private sector involvement.
 - Designing a "real world" curriculum. Pupils left school before they had obtained suitable vocational qualifications, skills or appropriate value systems. There should be a balance between general formative preparatory education and career education relating better to the country's manpower needs.
 - Improvements to teacher training in both formal and non-formal sectors. Private sector personnel and facilities should be used in teacher training and teachers of any race be used at all schools.
- Other priorities included developing career guidance in schools, improving the accessibility of non-formal education and racial integration in schools.

Economic Prosperity Essential

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 9 Jun 86 p 9

[Article by Colleen Ryan]

[Text] The implications of ignoring the recommendations made by Project Free Enterprise were extremely serious for both the economic and political sphere.

Economically, worker commitment to economic growth and the free market system would continue to be eroded, leading to reduced productivity and lower economic growth.

The report warned that political stability and reform would not be possible without economic prosperity.

The political consequences were that black attitudes, currently open to possible negotiation, would harden, leading to more radical reactions.

POSITIVE

Incremental and ad hoc change would cause, rather than prevent, crisis.

Positive implications of adopting the recommendations would include greater mobility of labour and the development of a viable black middle class.

Only fundamental and urgent implementation of reform would ensure a prosperous free market economy.

The only political cost to the Government would be to introduce meaningful black participation and scrap the Group Areas Act. Political losses could be avoided by implementing a strategy to satisfy specific interest groups.

"This report, more than any other in the history of South Africa, integrates the role of

government and business in ensuring that South Africa may ultimately regain its potential stability and harmony."

Business Attitude Toward Blacks Criticized

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 9 Jun 86 p 9

[Article by Colleen Ryan]

[Text]

The business sector, like the Government, is guilty of paying lip-service to the subject of black advancement and often takes action "too little, too late", says the Project Free Enterprise report.

The business community had a major responsibility to ensure that blacks benefited directly from the system, said the report.

The researchers were critical of the progress made so far to "sell" the free enterprise system, referring to the alarming decline in productivity.

"Management pays lip-service to important issues, such as black advancement and incentives. Top management views are not properly communicated down the line or are disbelieved," it said.

"The exclusion of workers from meaningful participation undermines the very essence of

organisational survival," said the report.

The major problem was the discrepancy in the views of management and workers.

"At this early stage of the research it becomes apparent that management's perception of what they are doing differs substantially from the worker's perception of their actions.

INSENSITIVITY

"The business sector is making itself guilty of exactly the same transgressions for which central government is often blamed — lip-service, far too little action too late and insensitivity to the environment and needs of the recipients of the proposed strategy."

The report said it was "clear that the workforce would not commit itself to enhancing quality and productivity whilst the current negative percep-

tions prevail".

To achieve higher productivity and improved quality the project focused on four main priorities:

- Developing participating systems.
- Encouraging black advancement.
- Establishing worker perceptions.
- Developing incentive reward systems.

The report said that the business "micro" strategy and the Government's "macro" strategy should be developed together.

"It is the Government's responsibility to create the type of socio-economic and socio-political environment in which business can survive and prosper and it is the responsibility of business to utilise this environment to the optimum benefit of all the participants."

Report Advocates Involving Workers

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 9 Jun 86 p 9

[Article by Colleen Ryan]

[Text]

The most effective way of gaining commitment to the free enterprise system is to encourage worker participation, the Free Enterprise Report has recommended.

Researchers investigated top companies which had committed themselves to improving worker-manager relations and found the best successes were in participative management systems.

They concluded employers were generally still guilty of totalitarian and autocratic styles of management that ruled out meaningful participation by workers in basic processes such as performance improvement and decision-making.

The report found a need for top management commitment in ensuring that participation succeeded and said there was a need for fundamental change in managerial attitudes.

PROGRESS

It also found that organisations which had made some progress in developing participative systems had needed to personalise the system. For example, quality groups formed by a company would be given special names.

With all successes, a process of starting small and then growing was followed. Also participation in group systems had to be voluntary.

To succeed, workers had to be given authority to implement solutions and investigate problems.

An important feature of developing participation systems was through education programmes. Much of the success of participative systems depended upon an employee's understanding of why a company needed to make profits.

'Commitment To Advancement Needed'

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 9 Jun 86 p 9

[Article by Colleen Ryan]

[Text]

The issue of black advancement in business has received only superficial attention and it was time companies committed themselves to advancement programmes, said the Project Free Enterprise report.

Black members who had taken part in the Project Free Enterprise "think-tanks" expressed frustration with lack of genuine opportunities at high levels, the report said.

In most instances businesses had increased their black labour force in mainly the unskilled and semi-skilled levels out of necessity.

One of the biggest obstacles for the project had been the near impossibility of involving organised labour, said the report.

It was unfortunate that the levels of mistrust were at such a level that organised labour often viewed itself in competition with management while management viewed unions as obstructive.

The report said business had not always been the first career choice for blacks. Legislation, white resistance, exclusion from management, discriminatory pay structures and underdevelopment of black employees had led to the development of the medical, ministerial and teaching vocations as highly prized careers.

"Blacks entering the business world have been regarded as opting for second best, or worse, as being second-rate themselves."

In the first stage of Project Free Enterprise research had showed alarming levels of black mistrust and frustration.

The report said it was essential that blacks start seeing that management was sincere in its commitment to offer them the same opportunities and challenges as whites.

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SOUTH AFRICA

PFP MP COMMENTS ON ANC FLAGS AT FUNERALS

MB122309 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2010 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] House of Assembly, June 12, SAPA--The PFP [Progressive Federal Party] MP for green point, Mr Tiaan van der Merwe, said today that if he believed he could help defuse conflict, he would attend funerals of unrest victims no matter what flag was displayed.

He was responding during debate on the second reading of the Public Safety Amendment Bill to NP [National Party] charges that he had attended a funeral at Pearl at which the ANC flag was displayed.

Mr van der Merwe said he had been approached by the organizers of the funeral to try to have some of the restrictions on it lifted.

ANC and communist flags as well as those bearing Nelson Mandela's portrait had been displayed at the funeral but he had attended because he believed he could help stop conflict with the police.

"I have too often experienced that stupid actions have held to a vicious circle of more deaths and violence.

"If I know I can make a contribution to preventing conflict, you can put up any flag you like, I don't care a damn (geen nie n duiwel om nie)--I will attend."

Mr W.N. Breytenbach (NP Kroonstad) should do the same, Mr van der Merwe said, or he did not deserve to be an MP.

Mr van der Merwe added that people such as Mr Breytenbach would "rather see 10 more people shot dead" than help defuse conflict in such a situation.

The PFP would continue to attend unrest funerals to help prevent conflict, while Mr Breytenbach could "plod on in his stupid ignorance and political immaturity."

Mr van der Merwe was ordered by the chairman to withdraw the word "stupid."

He did so and said Mr Breytenbach displayed "a low intellectual level.

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SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY VIEWS FIGHTING AMONG BLACK GROUPS

MB101233 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Station Commentary: "Black-on-black Violence"]

[Text] Judging from a remark by the American State Department, which expresses concern over the black-on-black violence in South Africa, and judging from the comments of an increasing number of Western newspapers which are telling their readers that the struggle in South Africa is far more complex than a straightforward battle between white and black, it does appear as if at last the message, which South Africa has been trying to convey to the outside world for many years, is being appreciated.

Foreign news media, which tend to simplify, sensationalize and dramatize, have always found it expedient to portray events in South Africa as a conflict between white and black. However, in recent years as violence escalated in the black townships they have found it increasingly difficult to maintain this illusion of a black-white confrontation among their viewers and readers. This is now being most dramatically illustrated at Crossroads in the Cape where bitter and bloody fighting is raging between adult vigilants and the pro-Marxist comrades. The role being played by the security forces of this country at Crossroads is that of attempting to keep the two warring parties apart.

Certainly within South Africa itself, prominent leaders have no doubt about the nature of the conflict. This week KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi lashed out at those who are trying to transform the 16 June commemoration day into a period of violence, pointing out that the violence would be between black and black. The policies of apartheid now rapidly being phased out number only among the many problems facing this country. Thinking people must wonder why it is that at a time when reforms are rapidly taking place in the country violence is also increasing. The answer is that the Marxist forces are not interested in reform. They want total control.

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SOUTH AFRICA

COLUMNIST VIEWS GOVERNMENT ATTITUDE TOWARD SANCTIONS

MB161334 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 15 Jun 86 p 29

["Another Voice" column by Harald Pakendorf]

[Text] It was cold in Cape Town this week. There was wind and occasional rain. In the House of Assembly it was quite pleasant, the debate droned on, members came and left, the public gallery was empty.

Just another day in the life of Parliament?

Yes, except that what was being debated was the Abolition of Influx Control Bill, an historic piece of legislation granting freedom of movement to those who did not have it.

The pass laws were being scrapped. But nobody was interested any more.

Outside, in the wind, cold and rain, the "witdoeke" [white scarves] were squaring up to the "comrades." Far away, in London, the Eminent Persons were considering sanctions, while in Washington and Brussels moves were afoot to isolate and punish South Africa.

June 16 was looming, even tighter security legislation was being stopped in its tracks by coloured and Indians MP's, proving that the tricameral system does have teeth. In national party ranks there were rumblings of unease over the need for more and tougher security measures and over the way these were being pushed through.

But nobody was listening.

Wild stories were doing rounds. Schoolchildren were going to be killed, mass invasions of suburbs were being planned, Louis le Grange's ban on public meetings was going to be ignored and violence would erupt as the security forces were to try and implement the impossible.

Whites and blacks were nervous, fearful.

The rand was falling--again. But a steady fall this time as if it knew it had a bit to go still before it hit rock-bottom. The price of gold began

moving upwards, as did that of minerals, indicating that the world was jittery about our immediate future, jittery about the next weeks.

Those who understand how markets work were apprehensive.

It was a week of waiting, of uncertainty, of almost knowing that what we had half-known for years might actually be about to happen--sanctions engulfed us while violence internally flared and flared again.

We were moving into the home stretch. All those dreadful fears we had whispered to one another late at night over all these years were finally becoming reality.

What could we do at this late hour to stop what was about to happen, we the little people who live ordinary lives? Very little, except to look at our government and hope that it was acting in a rational, cool, calm and collected manner as the crisis descended on us.

We have to assume that that was the manner in which it was acting, that it knew all along what the consequences of its actions were going to be, that they had been calculated and that it had been decided to press on anyway.

Not assuming that would mean that the level of irrationality is too ghastly to contemplate.

Another set of assumptions then have to be made. The first is that the government decided that it could never satisfy the demands made on it, that whatever it did would always be not enough and lead to yet another round of demands, and this was consistently eroding its own position inside the country.

Secondly, that the threat of sanctions was worse than the actuality. Thus, as we cannot satisfy the demands made on us, we might as well look to ourselves first and the foreign reaction second. If we do get sanctions in some manner, or, more correctly, slide a little deeper into the sanctions mud than we already have, then so let it be.

That is a cold, cool and rational calculation if there ever was one.

It would explain why we bombed Lusaka's outskirts hours after the EPG [Eminent Persons Group] left the Zambian Capital, while we are again helping Jonas Savimbi in Angola, while we push through harsh security measures at the very moment the EPG, the USA and the EEC are considering what steps to take against us.

Paul Kruger, shortly before the South African War stormed out of a meeting with Lord Milner, saying: "It is not the vote you want for the Uitlanders [foreigners] it is my country you want.

More than 80 years later, we were told: scrap the Immorality Act and we will accept that you are serious about reform. We did and it made no difference.

Scrap the pass laws, they said. We did, and it made no difference. Give us a statement of intent, open the way for blacks to enter the political system. We did, and it made no difference. Scrap discrimination, they said. We did, almost everywhere, but it made no difference.

Now they say, the EPG being "they" this time: scrap the Group Areas Act. If we do, it won't take any difference. They also say: scrap the Population Registration Act. If we do, it won't make any difference.

That must have been the frame of mind in which the government was contemplating the coming events, and that is what must have made it decide: self-interest dictates that we now ignore these demands and threats.

So far they have brought us nothing but uncertainty and it is time that that uncertainty was ended. Let them do their damndest; at least we know where we stand then, know what we are in for.

Not that the Cabinet as a whole came to that conclusion all at once.

There are quite serious differences between those who wanted to keep the negotiating process going for as long as possible while you also try to get the internal debate on the country's constitutional future off the ground, and those who have now won.

For too long the cry of sanctions had been used to ward off those who were saying that what the world wanted was our country, and it was better to face that earlier than later. This time the argument was not working.

We were going to risk sanctions and isolation because we had coldly calculated that there was no other way.

This week, in Cape Town, the cold, wet wind swept around the corners of parliament, towards Tuynhuis and back to the Verwoerd Building. Next week the whole country may be shivering.

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END